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CORRESPONDENCE OF THE TWO
RICHARD HAKLUYTS

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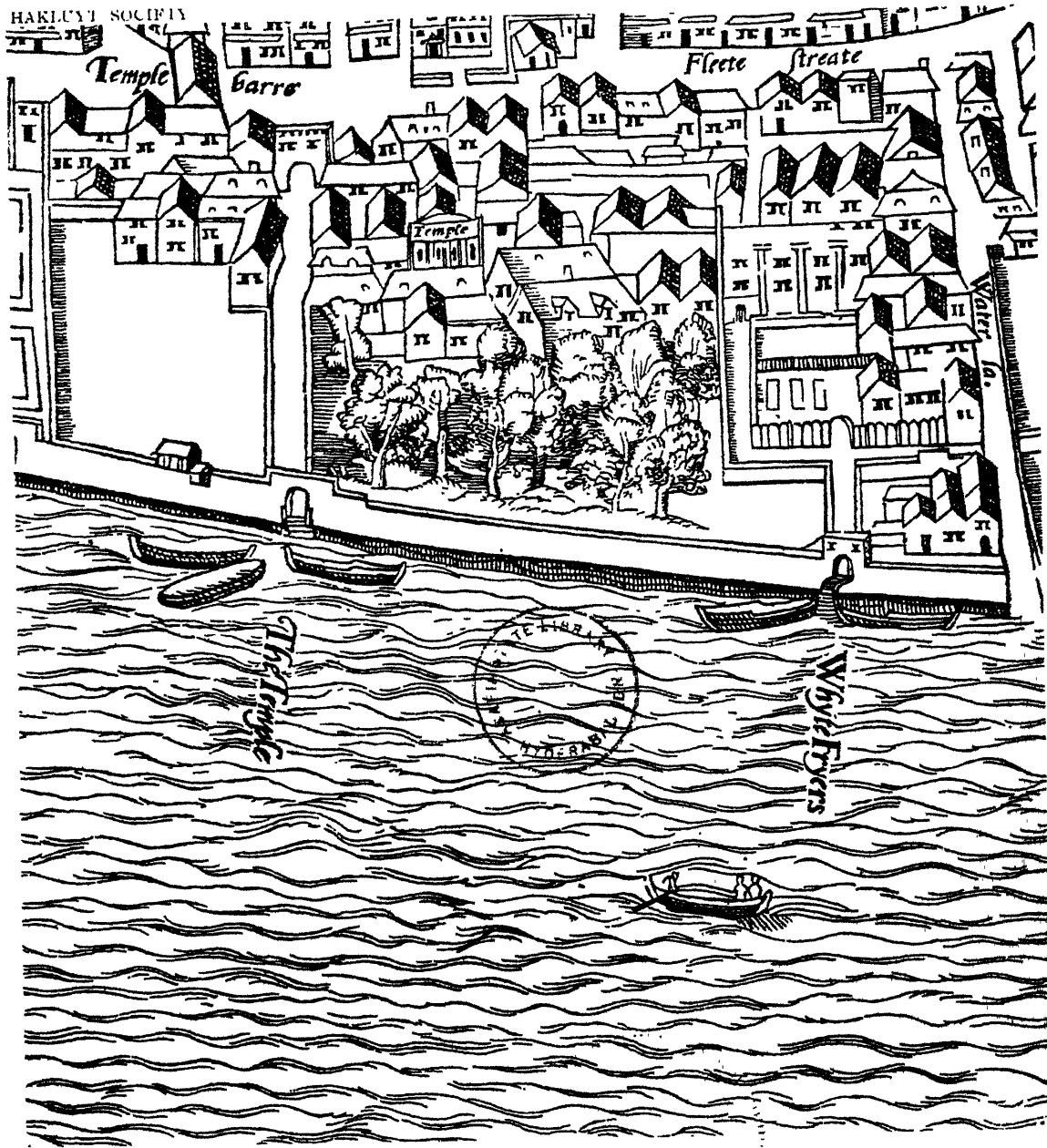
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THE MIDDLE TEMPLE AND PRECINCTS

THE ORIGINAL WRITINGS &
CORRESPONDENCE OF THE TWO
RICHARD HAKLUYTS

WITH
AN INTRODUCTION AND NOTES
BY

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VOLUME I

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PREFACE

THE idea of collecting into one book the original writings of the two Richard Hakluyts was suggested to the editor of the present volumes on first reading the excellent biographical study of the two men written by Dr Bruner Parks in 1928.¹ In the appendices to his work, Dr Parks gave careful references to all the printed and manuscript materials relating to the Hakluyts that were known to him, and these proved to be so scattered, or so rare or otherwise difficult of access, that it appeared likely that to assemble and print them in full would result in a volume of great interest and value. Moreover, the *Discourse of Western Planting*, the most important of the younger Hakluyt's own writings, although twice printed, is in both versions very corrupt. It has been re-transcribed from a photostat copy of the sole original manuscript. In addition to all material actually written by, or ascribable to, the two Hakluyts, all the extant letters addressed to them have been printed, since these throw considerable light on their geographical work.

Both men were earnest and consistent propagandists for English colonial expansion, which they believed would promote the industrialisation of England, and hence put an end to the unemployment which unreflecting publicists ascribed to overpopulation. Their combined writings cover a period of nearly fifty years from the critical date 1568, and coming as they do from a lawyer and a parson, may fairly be claimed as giving the views of the Elizabethan 'intellectuals' as opposed to those of the soldiers and statesmen whose voices are more generally heard.

The Editor wishes to emphasise her great debt to Dr Parks, whose preliminary labours alone made this book possible, and to acknowledge the kindly help and criticism of Sir William Foster, Mr Edward Lynam, and Dr Fulmer Mood.

E. G. R. TAYLOR

CHELSEA 1935

¹ *Richard Hakluyt and the English Voyages*, Amer. Geog. Soc. Special Publication No. 10.

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INTRODUCTION

THE TWO RICHARD HAKLUYTS

I. THE HAKLUYTS OF HEREFORDSHIRE

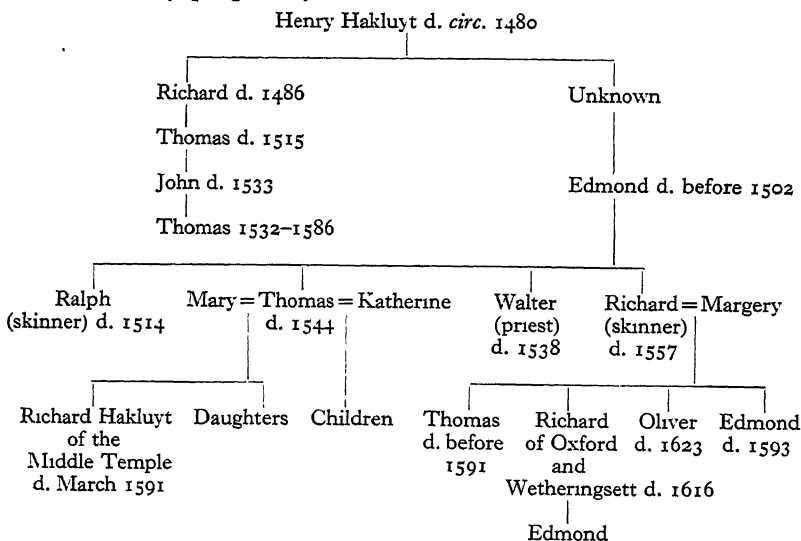
THE lesser landed gentry of Tudor England had no history. They lived quietly and obscurely in the shires, busied with their tenantry and estates or fulfilling their duties as Justices of the Peace. Not so their landless younger brothers and nephews: these had their way to make in the world, and while many of them secured petty Government appointments or entered the learned professions, it became increasingly common for at least one member of the family to adventure into trade. Consequently it often happened during the period of rapid economic and social change characteristic of the sixteenth century that while the head of the house remained obscure, the cadet became a man of note. Such was the good fortune of two cousins, alike named Richard Hakluyt, who sprang from a younger branch of an old-established Herefordshire county family. Their common grandfather was a certain Edmond Hakluyt who at the close of the fifteenth century had a family of four sons. Thomas, the eldest survivor, became Clerk for the Council of Wales and the Marches. Walter went to Oxford, took Holy Orders and obtained a country living in Norfolk: a celibate priest, he died without issue. The two other sons, Ralph and Richard, were sent up to London in turn and bound apprentice to members of the Skinners' Company.¹ These four young men

¹ The circumstances may be reconstructed as follows. The father, Edmond, died when his four sons were mere children, and their care devolved upon their maternal uncle, William Martin. A Herefordshire landowner, he was also a member of Gray's Inn, and the nephew and right hand of old Sir William Martin, sometime Master of the Skinners' Company and Lord Mayor of London. Hence he made two of the boys skinners. Ralph, who was apprenticed in 1502 and admitted in 1509/10, died in 1514, when his younger brother was still an apprentice: the latter became the father of Richard Hakluyt the geographer. The *Records of the Skinners' Company* contain the following entries: "1502. Rauff Haklett, son of Edmond Haklett, late of Eton in the County of Hereford, Gent. apprenticed to Robert Froude, skinner. Admitted Feb. 22 1509/10." "Md. that Richard Haklett the son of Edmond Haklett of Eyton of Hereford Gentleman, hath got himself apprentyce unto Peter Middlyton from the ffest of seynt Michel Thercangell in the second yere of the reigne of Kyng Henrie the 8th (1510) unto the ende of sevyyn yeres." (Communicated by J. J. Lambert, Esq.)

were the contemporaries of the Thornes, the Barlows and the Rastalls, who played their part in those pioneer adventures overseas which rendered memorable the opening decades of the sixteenth century. But there is no record at this time of any Hakluyt abroad. The head of their house, one John Hakluyt, owner of several manors in the parish of Eyton (lying not far from Leominster), was doomed to die young, and to leave behind him a tiny infant as his heir. Not long before his death he parted with a portion of his estates to his kinsman Thomas (the Clerk) who thus became a landed gentleman,¹ and henceforth styled himself

¹ This Thomas was the Hakluyt whom Leland visited about 1538. From Leland's remarks it may be inferred that Thomas and John Hakluyt had a common great-grandfather in Henry Hakluyt of Eyton who died about 1480. Leland speaks of 'Eaton' as lying a mile W.N.W. of Leominster, on the road to Ludlow. Another Eaton lay near Leominster but to the east. "One William Hackluit that was with K.H. 5 at the Battaile of Agin-court sett up a House at this Village, and purchased lande to it. He had one St George, a Noble-man of France, to his prisoner. Hackluit (*sic*) now living is the thurd in Descent of the House of Eaton. The cheife and ancientest of the Hackluits have bene Gentlemen in tymes out of Memory, and they took their Names of the Forrest of Cluid in Radnor-shire, and they had a Castle and Habitation not farre from Radnor. There were 3 Kts. of these Hackluits about the time of K.E. 3, whereof one was named Edmond...." Leland's *Itin.*, fol. 178b, iv. pt 1. Elsewhere (p. 178a) Leland says: "Mr Hackluit (*sic*) told me that the Body of King Merewald was found in a Wall in the ould Church of Wenlok."

The Hakluyt pedigree may be reconstructed as follows:



Thomas Hakluyt of Eyton. His baby cousin, John's heir, who was also named Thomas, was made one of the King's wards, and during his long minority this child's care and revenues were assigned to a certain Richard Watkyn. Meanwhile the elder Thomas married and founded a family. His first wife Mary died young, leaving him with four little daughters and one son, the latter being the elder of the two Richard Hakluyts to whom this volume is devoted. By a second marriage Thomas Hakluyt had several more sons and daughters, but he himself died in 1544 when they were all still mere children. The widow, Mistress Katherine, took as her second husband another Herefordshire landowner, Nicholas Depdene, a local Justice of the Peace. Her stepson Richard, heir to his father's landed property, remained under the guardianship of her new husband and herself, and in accordance with the custom of the time his income accrued to his guardians. Reluctant to surrender this source of wealth, the Depdenes entered into a conspiracy with Thomas of Eyton, now of age, and head of the family, to conceal the deeds which constituted Richard's title to the estates. Consequently the young man on attaining his majority had to bring a suit in Chancery against his stepmother, her husband, and his kinsman Thomas.¹

Having by these means obtained possession of his property, he was entered at the Inns of Court as a student of the Middle Temple and became a professional lawyer. This was in June 1555 when Queen Mary was on the throne, and when, following on the Willoughby-Chancellor voyage, the Muscovy Company was just being successfully launched.

Now at a time when the descendants of Owen Glendower reigned over England it was a decided asset for a young careerist to come, as Hakluyt did, from Wales or from the Marches. Not far from Eyton stood Wigmore Castle, a famous mediaeval stronghold, which John Dee (himself a Welshman) was seeking Queen Mary's leave to search for ancient historical records. The Wigmore family no longer lived there, but they were Herefordshire folk with whom the Hakluyts could claim cousinship, and a widowed Mistress Wigmore was the wife of Sir James Crofts

¹ Early Chancery Proceedings, Bundle 82, No. 12.

of Croft Castle,¹ Herefordshire, the influential Comptroller of the Royal Household. Of those about Elizabeth's Court, the Scudamores were of Herefordshire, as was Mistress Blanche Parry whom John Dee called Cousin. According to Camden, Sir William Cecil's forbears belonged to the same county, as did Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, whose second title was Viscount Hereford. It was in Herefordshire that Robert Dudley was given a castle when he was a young man and the Queen loved him. Lord Hunsdon, Elizabeth's cousin, was steward of the Manor of Leominster in Herefordshire, and this association led to an incident from which something may be learned of the character of Thomas Hakluyt, head of the family and holder of the near-by Manor of Eyton. A certain John Adams had been named by Lord Hunsdon as his deputy for the Leominster stewardship in perpetuity (as he claimed), and it was therefore his business to hold the manorial courts. For some reason unexplained, perhaps because of John Adams' residence at Lincoln's Inn in London, Lord Hunsdon made a fresh assignment of his rights, naming Thomas Hakluyt to represent him, and the two deputies quarrelled fiercely as to whose claim was valid. Thomas collected an armed band and, marching into Leominster, held the Court in his rival's despite; whereupon the latter went post-haste to summon the Justices of the Peace. These proved to be Sir James Crofts and Nicholas Depdene, to both of whom Master Hakluyt was well known, and they diplomatically declared that the matter was one for the Council for Wales and the Border Counties to decide. This body in its turn declined to interfere, and the truculent Thomas was left in possession. To this Thomas, who died in 1586, Richard Hakluyt the lawyer was contingent heir, and there is no doubt that, in spite of his residence in London chambers during term, he found time to go down into Herefordshire not only to care for his estates but to maintain his county connexions and acquaintances.

¹ "From Eaton", says Leland, "I rode a mile and a halfe towards Ludlow... I sawe on the left hand Croft, the Manour of the Crofts, sette on the Browe of an Hill, somewhat declininge, ditched and walled Castle like." Leland, *loc. cit.* Both Eyton and Croft Castle lay just off the main highway from Leominster to Ludlow, the lane to Croft running between Hakluyt's fields. (*Ordnance Survey*, 6" map. *Herefordshire XII.*)

2. THE HAKLUYTS IN LONDON

It is safe to conclude that the Richard Hakluyt who sat for Leominster in Queen Mary's last Parliament was the young landowner of Eyton, the lawyer of the Middle Temple.¹ In the same year, 1557, his family circumstances changed, for his uncle Richard died. On his deathbed the sometime apprentice, now a member of the Skinners' Company, placed upon the shoulders of his young kinsman (for the lawyer was no more than twenty-five) the burden of 'comforting' the widow, and helping her to bring up her family of boys and girls, the youngest mere infants.² Among them was Richard Hakluyt, the future geographer. Many affectionate references made at a later date to their lawyer cousin bear witness to the self-devotion with which he carried out this task, a task rendered doubly difficult by the fact that the widowed mother quickly followed her husband to the grave. All the sons grew up and did well, but it was with his namesake Richard, orphaned at five years old, that their guardian seems to have been in closest intellectual sympathy.

As is well known³ it was through the elder man's interest in the mercantile aspects of cosmography, and through his friendships with merchants, geographers and travellers, that his young cousin was inducted into his life's work, and it is relevant therefore to examine the lawyer's London circle. His room-mate in the Temple was Fabian Phillips,⁴ a Herefordshire neighbour, who in his turn became M.P. for Leominster. It is of greater significance, however, that a chamber close at hand was occupied between 1562 and 1566 by Adrian Gilbert, for this provides an

¹ It is significant that the most important piece of legislation carried out by this Parliament was the passing of an Act regulating the manufacture of woollens. An Act of 5, 6 Ed. VI had proved unworkable, and fresh regulations were made as to the minimum length and weight of, and the colours to be used in dyeing, the various types of cloth manufactured in different parts of England and Wales. Defective cloth was to be clearly marked as such by the aulnagers. The Act embodies a wealth of technical detail of the type that Hakluyt the lawyer shows himself familiar with in his later writings. While there is no warrant for suggesting that he assisted to frame the Bill, it may be recalled that Leominster gave its name to the finest quality wool, and that a ring of famous cloth and drapery towns, Shrewsbury, Worcester, Gloucester, Hereford, lay within easy distance of Hakluyt's home

² Document 1, p. 69.

³ Doc. 65, p. 396.

⁴ *Middle Temple Records*, i. p. 144.

obvious link with Sir Humfrey. The latter was at this very time repeatedly in conference with Anthony Jenkinson over the rival merits of the north-east and the north-west passages to Cathay, and there is every reason to believe that Gilbert sought the assistance of experts like Dee and the elder Hakluyt when he was asked to uphold his own view in a formal debate before the Queen and her Privy Council.

It is to this period of keen discussion and controversy that we may most probably assign Hakluyt's undated letter to Ortelius¹ asking him to make a world-map on vertical rollers for convenient use in a confined space. The lay-out of the map and the details which the lawyer wished to see inserted (including the *Strait of the Three Brethren*, emphasised on the then popular globe of Gemma Frisius)² make it clear that he had the north-west passage as Gilbert envisaged it in his mind. The letter was written in the joint names of Hakluyt and one John Acheley or Ashley, who can almost certainly be identified with the London citizen and Merchant Taylor of that name who later became one of the undertakers of Gilbert's venture of 1583.³ In the 1560's he was part owner of the ship *Castle of Comfort*, one of the large well-armed merchantmen used in the Guinea trade. Ortelius' reply has not been preserved, but he must already have been at work on his *Theatrum*, the bound folio volume of maps which solved Hakluyt's problem of space, and immediately superseded (so far as the study table was concerned) the cumbersome sheet maps hitherto in use.

The bearer of Hakluyt's letter to Ortelius was the half-Flemish Daniel Rogers, kinsman of the great cosmographer on his mother's side, and son of John Rogers, the first Marian Protestant martyr. Daniel and his brother John were scholars and diplomats, and through their constant cross-Channel journeys forged close links between a Flemish and an English circle having intellectual interests in common. On the English side were the Hakluyts, John Dee and William Camden, besides such prominent members of the Dutch Church in Austin Friars as

¹ Doc. 7, p. 77.

² E. G. R. Taylor, *Tudor Geography*, pp. 81, 82.

³ He contributed laudatory verse to Peckham's *True Report*, cf. Doc. 43, p. 204.

Emanuel van Meteren and the Coles, who were all also kinsfolk of Ortelius. On the Flemish side Mercator (although now living in Duisburg) was able, equally with Ortelius, to keep in touch with the English geographers, and it was natural that the younger Hakluyt when he grew to manhood should become the intimate of Mercator's son Rumold (often in London on business for Birckmann the bookseller) and of Ortelius' nephew Ortelianus (*i.e.* the younger Cole).

It is of interest to find that among the elder Hakluyt's London friends and clients was that Oliver Dawbeney who in his youth had adventured to Newfoundland under the leadership of the none too scrupulous Captain Richard Hore.¹ The lawyer was placed in 1571 upon a commission appointed to enquire into long-standing abuses relative to the farm of the Customs, and in his letter to Cecil² on this subject he touches on difficulties experienced by Dawbeney who had lately become a Customs officer.³ The letter is of value in its testimony to Hakluyt's professional competence and standing, for in it he appears as a man who had the ear of the highest Ministers of State, and one who did not fear to speak out about corruption.

3. LINKS WITH SPAIN AND THE INDIES

About nine months before he wrote to the Lord Treasurer on this matter of the Customs, Hakluyt had forwarded to him a docket containing secret news from Spain. In the covering letter⁴ that accompanied it he explained that late in 1570 a young kinsman of his had returned from Grand Malaga, bringing news that a friend and fellow countryman with something of importance to reveal would shortly follow him. Hakluyt examined the spy (for such he was) on his arrival in London and subsequently communicated with Burghley. The importance of this incident in the story of the Hakluyts lies in its revelation of their direct and close contact with the English merchant community

¹ G.J., vol. 77, p. 469.

² Doc. 15, p. 93. 'Customer Smith' was then the principal London Customs official and was involved in the irregularities.

³ He obtained the farm of strong beer in 1568.

⁴ Doc. 13, p. 90.

in Spain,¹ at that time the most numerous and influential group of Englishmen abroad. These merchants came principally from Bristol and London, and their chief places of residence were Seville, Grand Malaga and St Lucar. Hugh Tipton's house at Seville was their common meeting ground, and they had an influential friend at Court in the Duchess of Feria, once the English Jane Dormer, and a kinswoman of the Dudleys and Sidneys.

The changes of religion in England involved the overseas merchants in great difficulties, and many of them took Spanish names and Spanish wives, conforming outwardly at least to the Catholic worship. Not infrequently they obtained positions of trust in the country of their adoption, and they had the privilege of engaging in the West India trade, greatly envied by their countrymen at home. One of the most remarkable of these Hispaniolised Englishmen was Roger Bodenham, whose career may be taken as typical. Sprung from a younger branch of the Bodenhams of Rotherwas near Hereford, and a distant kinsman of Sir James Crofts, he is first heard of in 1550 as captain of the *Bark Aucher* on which Richard Chancellor was trained to sea-service. The dangers encountered on that voyage at the hands of the Turks brought the English Levant trade to an end, and it was not revived for thirty years. Captain Bodenham settled therefore in Spain and engaged in the Barbary trade, thus becoming familiar with the people, rulers and cities of Morocco. This business also proving too dangerous and uncertain to be profitable (although in other hands it continued to flourish) he next turned his attention to the West Indies and took a cargo out from Spain in the summer of 1563. On his return to St Lucar in the spring of 1564 he learned that John Hawkins was to make his second slaving voyage the occasion of a reconnaissance of Florida, which certain Englishmen² had planned to colonise in co-operation with the French. Hawkins

¹ The name of Richard Wigmore appears in a list of these merchants in 1539, and the young man may have been his son, and the 'cousin Wigmore' later referred to by Hakluyt of Oxford.

² "5 July 1563. This daye Stukely and his Company to the number of 500 gentlemen...doth hoise up saylles...out of the temes towards that land called Terra Florida." Harleian MSS No. 253, fol. 99.

had consulted Sir Thomas Challoner, the English Ambassador at Madrid, as to whom he should take with him out of Spain to act as interpreter in the Indies, and hence Bodenham solicited Challoner's recommendation. It was given, however, to Anthony Parkhurst, a Kentish gentleman, who immediately left Cadiz for England, and who subsequently proved a valuable informant on American matters to the elder Hakluyt. Bodenham was given a recommendation to the Duchess of Feria, who in turn gave him a letter of introduction to the Earl of Leicester which he presented in London. In 1565 he again freighted a ship from Spain to the Indies, sailing in company with the great fleet of Pero Menendes de Aviles, but in the spring of 1566 he was back again in London, where his knowledge of cosmography and navigation made him the centre of an eager circle of Englishmen.¹ A small syndicate gave him the command of a ship laden with goods for Spain, but almost in sight of port she was seized by Turkish pirates and her crew either drowned or held for ransom. Bodenham's letter to a bereaved father (as it seems) of one of the young gentlemen who had sailed with him has survived and is printed in this volume² as typical of the man and of the times.

The Ambassador de Silva had marked him down in London as a man of ability, and he is next heard of in service of the King of Spain, who chose him as one of five (according to the evidence of his friend Leonard Chilton) to make the new voyage to the Philippines in 1567.³ That Bodenham actually went is probable, for such a voyage would take rather more than two years and he is not heard of again until August 1571, when he prepared for Burghley a very practical little pamphlet on English foreign trade and the means for enlarging it. While retaining the confidence of the Spaniards, he subsequently acted as an English spy, as did his son William: of this his letters to Burghley and Walsingham afford ample proof.⁴ His English friends included Michael Lok and Edward Dyer, and no doubt he was directly approached by one of the Hakluyts for the two contributions

¹ Details of Bodenham's career can be gathered from the Calendars of State Papers (Foreign) and from his contributions to the *Principal Navigations*.

² Doc. 3, p. 72.

³ Doc. 4, p. 74.

⁴ Both Bodenham's served from time to time with the Prince of Parma in the Low Countries.

which he made to the notes on America that they were collecting. Between them they obtained a very considerable body of material from the Anglo-Spanish merchant group, and especially from those who had visited New Spain. Among these was Bodenham's friend Henry Hawke or Hawks, just such another Hispaniolised Englishman as himself, with a Spanish name, and a Spanish wife, and a home at Grand Malaga since 1552. Business took him to Mexico in 1567, but there he unfortunately fell into the hands of the Holy Inquisition, and after escaping to Spain, got back to England in 1571. Hakluyt's young kinsman from Malaga may have introduced the lawyer to Hawks at the Law Courts, for the latter appeared as a witness in the *Querela*¹ lodged against the King of Spain by John Frampton, a merchant of Bristol. Frampton had twice been seized in Spain by the dreaded Familiars, the second time at Grand Malaga, and Hawks, mingling with the crowd, had watched his ignominious entry into Seville with his feet tied underneath a mule's belly.

The lawyer Hakluyt's request to Hawks for an account of New Spain resulted in a very valuable document,² for it contained the first English report of the discovery of King Solomon's Islands and the supposed rich mainland beyond them. This news had spread like wildfire through Mexico when, on January 24, 1569, two battered ships had arrived on the west coast, newly back from this remarkable discovery. Hawks was in the confidence of the cartographer-pilot Diego Gutierrez³ and nothing of geographical importance therefore escaped him.

By 1572, it will be recalled,⁴ the harrying of the Indies by English as well as French pirates was in full swing, and the records of the Court of Admiralty reveal the Englishmen as hand in glove with all the noted Huguenot corsair sea-captains, Bontemps, Blondel, Le Testu, Sores, Loder, Nepeville and the rest. Francis Drake was then only one among many, although

¹ J. A. Williamson in *Blackwood's Magazine*, April 1930, and H.C.A. Examinations, 19.

² Doc. 16, p. 96.

³ Gutierrez was one of those who made the first voyage to the Philippines and back across the North Pacific, by the route determined by Andrew Urdaneta.

⁴ *I. A. Wright*, Hak. Soc., 2nd series, lxxi., and H.C.A. 13, No. 24.

destined to out-soar his rivals, and behind the scenes, supplying ships and money, were men of the English governing classes, the Hawkins brothers, the two Winters, Edward Cotton and Henry Knollys. Quite apart from the passionate spirit of revenge aroused among seamen by the treachery of Don Martin Enriques towards Hawkins at San Juan de Ulloa, there was very general resentment at the exclusion of foreigners from the West Indian trade, for it was held to violate a 'natural' right of all men to freedom of the seas.¹ The dreadful end of the French colony in Florida made clear the temper of the Spaniards towards 'intruders', and the best brains in England were at work upon schemes for breaking their monopoly of the riches of the New World, while yet keeping the peace with them as the Queen was resolved.²

4. SCHEME FOR WESTERN PLANTING

During this time of swelling anti-Spanish feeling, the younger Hakluyt was pursuing his formal studies at Christ Church, Oxford, a Queen's Scholar as he had been at Westminster.³ After

¹ It was commonly held that the diversity of natural products between one country and another was divinely appointed to promote intercourse between nations, and hence that God intended the sea to be free to all. Politicians and lawyers threshed the matter out in the seventeenth century, when Dutch and English were the conflicting parties. John Dee declared for a 'closed sea' in 1576, in his *Pety Navy Royall*.

² The question of insisting on their exclusive rights to newly discovered lands was debated by the Emperor and the King of Portugal when the French King sent Jacques Cartier to Canada. The Portuguese King wisely decided that it was folly to forbid what could not be prevented, while the Emperor himself wrote to the Cardinal of Toledo: "In regard to this you think that stress should be laid chiefly upon the fact that they were discovered, conquered and peopled by ourselves and our predecessors at great cost, and that we have continued in the peaceful possession and ownership of these lands, and not to insist much upon the concession by the Apostolic See, as the said King of France attaches but little importance to this; you have therein spoken well." (H. P. Biggar, *Documents relating to Cartier and Roberval*.) Before Cartier's objective was revealed, the Emperor was seriously uneasy about the Strait of Bahama (Florida Strait), which was well known to be the most vulnerable spot in the Spanish Indies. In view of the correspondence quoted above, the Emperor's public assertion of his rights under the Papal Bull in a treaty of 1544, after the Cartier-Roberval voyages had failed, must be looked upon as mere bluff.

³ According to the *Records of the Skinners' Company*, he had also an exhibition of 53s. 4d. a year from this body.

taking his first degree in February 1574 he was free to specialise in cosmography, and with Ramusio's collected *Voyages* as his starting point, made himself master of the voluminous literature of the subject, both ancient and modern. But cosmography was a living and growing subject, and following the example of Peter Martyr and Richard Eden, the example, too, of his cousin and namesake the lawyer, Hakluyt began to take notes and records from returned sailors, his intelligent insight into their problems readily admitting him to the acquaintance and confidence of "the chiefest captains at sea, the greatest merchants and the best mariners of our nation". Such men were to be found chiefly in London and in Bristol, the latter a principal seat of the old established Anglo-Spanish merchant houses, and Hakluyt was soon a familiar and respected figure in both seaports. In his Oxford circle were men like William Camden, the Savilles, and at a greater distance, Philip Sidney and the Earl of Cumberland; in London he joined his cousin's circle which included Emanuel van Meteren and John Dee, while community of interests led him to a close friendship with Michael Lok, secretary to the Muscovy Company, who was the chief organiser of the three Frobisher expeditions. Abraham Ortelius visited his kinsfolk in England in the early summer of 1577, and it is on record that he spoke with William Camden of his researches upon Ancient Britain, with John Dee upon the subject of the north-east passage, and with the younger Hakluyt concerning Frobisher's prospects of success. Perhaps he also met Walsingham, for he later on corresponded with the English Secretary of State, and became acquainted with his stepson Christopher Carlisle when the latter was soldiering in the Low Countries.

By the year 1577 the active, restless brain of Humfrey Gilbert had been at work on the problem of America for well over a decade, and it is perhaps more than a coincidence that he called on Dee¹ the day before he affixed his signature to the document² entitled: "How her Majesty may annoy the King of Spain." Passages of a geographical character in this document suggest the assistance and influence both of John Dee and the younger

¹ *Diary of Dr John Dee*, ed. Halliwell, p. 5.

² *S.P. Dom. Eliz.* 118, No. 12.

Hakluyt, but since it is written in a copyist's hand, there is no direct evidence of its authorship. Meanwhile, wiser counsels prevailed and Gilbert shortly obtained a colonising patent in lieu of permission to 'annoy'. His backers included Sir George Peckham, Richard Wigmore, William Hawkins, Customer Smith, and his brother Adrian Gilbert.

It was for this group that the lawyer Hakluyt had (no doubt in his professional capacity) written his earliest extant pamphlet¹ on the choice of a Seat overseas and the establishment of a Plantation, but Gilbert continued to toy with the idea of a warlike raid on the Indies and did not get to sea until late in August 1578. Bad weather further delayed him, and in November he was still at Plymouth where, after much petty quarrelling, he had the mortification of being deserted by Henry Knollys and some others of his company with six out of his eleven ships.² Personally brave and able though he was, Gilbert had not the qualities which make a man a successful leader of his social equals, and after some months at sea the enterprise was abandoned. His young half-brother, Walter Raleigh, then about 25 years old, served with him on this occasion. Hakluyt had meanwhile handed a copy of his notes to a member of Frobisher's expedition of 1578, in case they should succeed in reaching the South Sea and the Sierra Nevada (California), the latter recognised long before this date as a promising locality for an English 'Seat' or way-station. This expedition likewise failed to reach its objective, but the notes were preserved and printed in 1582³ for the sake of their general usefulness.

It is evident from the wording of Gilbert's patent⁴ and of Hakluyt's pamphlet that two voyages were in contemplation for the year 1578. The first 'for discovery' was to be a rapid reconnaissance and choice of a site for first settlement, which need occupy less than two months. The second 'for conquest' involved the actual settlement, and the participators could set out in the autumn, carrying seeds, plants, live stock and all the

¹ Doc. 18, p. 116.

² Doc. 22, p. 135. His letter of complaint to Walsingham is inserted for the light that it throws on his character. Knollys went off on a pirating expedition, of which the H.C.A. Examinations afford evidence.

³ In *Divers Voyages to America*.

⁴ Printed in the *Principal Navigations*.

necessary equipment for a permanent colony. This was on the assumption (made by the elder Hakluyt) that a site would be chosen in a region having a climate similar to Spain and the South of France, open and mild during the winter season; for the lawyer kept constantly in mind the desirability of having English-grown supplies of olive-oil (so essential in the national woollen industry), wines and Mediterranean fruits.

The whole of eastern America from lat. 30° northwards was without any Spanish settlement, and in view of Cabot's 'first discovery' of the coast could legally be appropriated. Moreover, there seems little doubt that Hakluyt had before him John Sparke's unpublished report¹ of Hawkins' homeward voyage of 1565, which contained an account of Laudonnière's short-lived Florida Colony (visited during the month of May) and of the prospects afforded by the region to English enterprise. Anthony Parkhurst had been on this voyage, and to him Hakluyt applied on behalf of Gilbert's backers for further details about Newfoundland.² Parkhurst had been adventuring privately to St

¹ Subsequently printed in the *Principal Navigations*.

² The elder Hakluyt viewed proposals for colonisation from an economic angle, and there is good reason to believe that he had studied Coligny's project for the Huguenot settlement of Florida and Brazil very carefully. On Ribault's report, made to the Queen in 1562, a group of English settlers had been licensed to join him the next year, and following the breakdown of this project, several gentlemen had joined Hawkins' expedition of 1564-5 with the purpose of studying the Spanish position in the Indies. Hakluyt's economic theory was that subsequently known as 'mercantilism'. Imports should be reduced to a minimum, exports expanded to a maximum, with a view to the accumulation of a favourable balance of 'treasure', i.e. bullion. Imports should be of necessities rather than luxuries, while exports should consist of highly finished articles, towards the price of which the cost of labour contributed a maximum proportion. England should be made self-sufficient as regards fish, timber, naval stores, dye-stuffs and vegetable oils, and failing home-production this should be effected by extension of English territory and jurisdiction overseas, i.e. by colonisation. New markets should be vigorously sought. The results of such a policy of industrial and trade expansion would automatically solve the unemployment problem. The crucial factor, as Hakluyt saw it, was to foster an expanding cloth industry, necessitating an alert and progressive manufacturing and merchant class, ready to sense and supply the needs of particular markets, and to ensure goods of uniform quality. Anthony Parkhurst differed from Hakluyt in putting the greatest stress on cheap food, such as would be afforded by the development of a fishing colony in Newfoundland. He, too, stressed the importance of avoiding the dissipation of 'treasure' abroad. Among subsidiary problems of which both men felt the force was that of obtaining fresh sources of supply of salt. The evaporation of brine in England involved a

John's and the Gulf of St Lawrence for the last three or four years and his reply¹ was penned from Bristol on November 13, 1578, immediately on his return from that summer's voyage in the course of which he had made some special surveys. About a year previously he had sent a much briefer despatch on the same subject² to an unnamed gentleman at Court who may well have been Edward Dyer, since Dyer was then very active in assisting all schemes for overseas expansion. Parkhurst was enthusiastically in favour of a permanent settlement in Newfoundland, and of a large-scale development of the Banks fisheries. His views probably influenced the route taken by Gilbert in 1583, but meanwhile funds were exhausted, and the only work done in 1579³ was a rapid reconnaissance of the American coast in middle latitudes made by Simon Fernandez, a Portuguese pilot in the employment of Sir Francis Walsingham.

The services of the elder Hakluyt were now requisitioned in another direction. It had been decided to send to Persia at the charges of the Dyers Company and certain City merchants a skilled dyer, who was to travel as one of the personnel of the sixth Persian voyage. This man was provided with written instructions, drawn up by Hakluyt,⁴ relating to the enquiries he

heavy consumption of wood for fuel. Even heavier was the fuel demand of the expanding iron industry. Hence Parkhurst's insistence on the importance of the iron-ore resources of Newfoundland, occurring where fuel and water-power alike abounded.

¹ Doc. 21, p. 127. Parkhurst was familiar with the Belle Isle entry to the Gulf of St Lawrence, the north-eastern arm of the latter being the *Grand Bay* of the French rutters. Here the French were already fishing in 1541, and a French sailor spoke of seeing an English ship among them. Barter with the Indians for furs was carried on by the fishermen. (H. P. Biggar, *loc. cit.*)

² Doc. 20, p. 123.

³ On the first day of the new year 1579 (*i.e.* March 25th) Adrian Gilbert obtained his Patent for a Corporation to trade with the North-west, and to discover the North-west Passage (*S.P. Domestic*, cxx). There is an obscure reference to a voyage "for the discovery of certain islands not yet traffiqued in" in H.C.A. 25, Bundle 1. One of the participators, Thomas Baylye, is described as 'Servant of Sir Christopher Hatton'. Letters Patent to discover strange islands and foreign countries were granted to Thos. Baylye and Edward Elliot on May 9, 1579. (*Acts of the Privy Council* under date named.) John Dee, who worked hard to ensure the discovery of Cathay and New Guinea, had addressed his propaganda particularly to Edward Dyer and Hatton.

⁴ Doc. 23, p. 137. Hakluyt speaks elsewhere (see p. 187) with impatience of the conservatism of the English dyers, and he may have been the moving spirit in sending Martin Hubblethorne to Persia.

was expected to make. English woollens at this period were debarred from the best markets by their lack of beauty and finish, and Hakluyt appears to have paid particular attention to the problems involved in improving the English technique, especially as regards dye-stuffs. As a Londoner with the *entrée* to rich merchants' houses he must have been familiar with the beauty of the carpets and fabrics from Persia. To send a tradesman so far to learn how such colours were obtained was undoubtedly costly, but could he bring back the seeds or roots of the dye-plants employed there for introduction into England, and possibly a skilled workman, too, the results would be of incalculable value.

The lawyer's young cousin never showed the same interest in purely technical matters, but his interrogations of returned seafarers were soon to bear fruit in other ways. Whether he learned of Drake's exploits in Panama in 1572-3 directly or indirectly is not known. He certainly collected (in 1578) the survivors' stories from those Bristol men who, led by Andrew Barker, had gone out to the Indies on the same business in 1576.¹ Drake's plans for the South Seas and Molucca voyage were a well-kept secret. John Dee had some hand in them, and probably the Hakluyts were consulted on particular points. The first direct evidence of any connexion, however, is afforded by Hakluyt the younger's searching enquiries among the sailors who returned with Winter in the *Elizabeth* in 1579 after re-passing Magellan's Strait.² Thomas Griggs, the steward, an intelligent man, had come up to London and was lodging with his brother in Holborn in expectation of being employed on a new voyage. Hakluyt had the opportunity, therefore, to talk to him at length. John Winter himself was for some months

¹ The story told to Hakluyt about the genesis of this voyage was incorrect in material particulars. Proceedings taken at the High Court of Admiralty (H.C.A. 13, No. 24) show that Barker and his Bristol ship, the *Speedwell*, had been plundered by the pirate Nepeville at Madeira in 1574. The crew then allied themselves with Paul Blondel to prey upon both English and Portuguese ships in Atlantic waters, and with this apprenticeship to piracy made for the Caribbean. Nepeville was identified by several witnesses as a man held in custody at the Admiralty Court in June 1577 under the name of Stephen de Brisa. He was already active in the West Indies in 1569.

² Doc. 24, p. 139.

a fugitive from justice, as he was called to account for the piracies committed by Drake against Portuguese nationals off the African coast at the commencement of the voyage. Hakluyt of Oxford, as his earliest writing shows, was evidently possessed with a burning desire to witness the destruction of the sea-supremacy and monopoly of Spain. The political situation had recently been aggravated by the death in Africa, under romantic circumstances, of the young Portuguese King Sebastian. This was in August 1578. His successor, the aged Cardinal Henry, was necessarily childless, while the man who had the strongest claim to the reversion of the throne was Philip of Spain. The union of the two crowns, and the consequent joining of the East to the West Indies under Philip's rule, was imminent during the winter of 1579-80. The 'proud Spaniard' would become prouder still, and England's chances of sea empire more remote. Hakluyt therefore prepared a scheme,¹ while Drake's fate was still unknown, for seizing and fortifying the key to the South Pacific and Peru, namely Magellan's Strait. According to Griggs' information, timber, water, game, fish and sea-birds were available in quantity sufficient for the initial support of a colony, until cattle and agricultural crops could be introduced. The working element could be provided by introducing a large body of Drake's devoted adherents, the Cimarrones, a suggestion that makes it clear that Hakluyt knew of the Panama episode. Failing Drake as a leader, a bold man such as the notorious pirate Thomas Clarke² could be offered the position, with at the same time a promise of pardon. It would be advisable to take simultaneous possession of St Vincent (in Portuguese Brazil) both as a way-station, and as a source of supply of such food-stuffs as Magellana

¹ Doc. 24, p. 139. This Document is not signed, but the handwriting is Hakluyt's (see Plate IV), and the contents also point to Hakluyt's authorship. The reference to the political situation and to 'Mr' Drake are among the points that refute the date of 1589 assigned to the document in the *Calendar of State Papers* (Lemon).

² There were two (if not three) pirates of this name, one was active in the Azores in 1581-2 and subsequently died at Gravelines. Another is referred to in a popular ballad licensed on March 17, 1580: "A pastport for pirates wherein they maye marke: And shun their abuse by the Death of Thomas Clarke." Richard Madox records in his *Diary* of the Fenton voyage (1582) that "pirate Clarke in his bravery" saluted them as they sailed out from Southampton.

could not produce. English criminals and undesirables could be sent out as colonists, and even if they seized the reins of government of the new community, the Strait would still be in friendly and not enemy hands.

There is no record of any reply to Hakluyt's proposal, but when King Henry died early in 1580, the Queen lent English support to the pretender Don Antonio, and Hakluyt put forward his plan again¹ with the request that he be given the latter's commission. The idea was obviously impracticable, as the Spaniards proved to their cost, for unknown to Hakluyt, Pedro Sarmiento had already been despatched from Peru to Spain to obtain leave and means to plant the doomed Spanish garrison in the Narrows of the Strait. However, the English certainly showed a quickened interest in St Vincent at this time. Thomas Griggs² was sent out there in the *Minion* to do some trade in sugar, and Edward Fenton spent some time there after abandoning the idea of reaching China in 1582. Drake himself despatched a bark to Brazil in May 1582, and Fenton expected to meet Frobisher thereabouts. The money for Griggs' voyage was put up by Christopher Hoddesdon, brother-in-law to Christopher Carlisle, and by Anthony Goddard, the "ancient and worshipful citizen of London" who told Hakluyt about the Brazil voyages of King Henry VIII's days. It is worth remark that 'old' William Hawkins had Don Antonio's commission when he made his mysterious voyage 'towards Brazil' in the autumn of 1582, but his plans miscarried, and the defeat of the Pretender in the Azores in 1583 put an end to all such projects.³ Nevertheless, when Drake's fleet put to sea in September 1585, the Lord High Admiral of Spain believed that his plan might be to establish a base near St Vincent and seize Magellan's Strait.⁴

¹ Doc. 28, p. 163.

² Griggs had spent several days at the settlement in 1579, as the hostage left by Winter.

³ William Hawkins brought home great booty from the West Indies in November 1583, and legal proceedings followed. In the course of these proceedings (H.C.A. 25, No. 1) the voyage is referred to as 'towards Brasil'. Drake's bark is mentioned in the *Diary* of Richard Madox.

⁴ *Principal Navigations*, vol. x, p. 88. The ship sent out by Edward Cotton in the spring of 1583 was to make St Vincent its first objective. Hugh Smith, who had been with Winter in 1577-9 was the pilot. The voyage miscarried in Guinea.

Hakluyt, however, had urged a second step,¹ outlined in the same document in which he advocated the seizure of the Strait. This was to renew the intermitted search for the North-east Passage, and whether or no his appeal had any weight, this search was certainly renewed in 1580. John Dee was a strong believer in this passage as affording the shortest and safest way to Cathay, and to this theme he had devoted the greater part of his *Volume of Famous and Rich Discoveries*.²

William Borough saw to the practical arrangements for the voyage (which set out in May 1580), but both Dee and the elder Hakluyt were called into consultation by the Muscovy Company, the former as expert in navigation and cosmography, the latter as an economist and adviser on matters of trade. Hakluyt of Oxford had to be content with an onlooker's part, but in April he wrote to Mercator at Duisburg (pledging him to secrecy), in order to take up some doubtful points, as it seemed to him, in the views upon the Passage expressed by John Dee, views in which he had at first concurred.³ Mercator (as his reply indicated) was vexed that the letter had been received too late for him to give Captain Arthur Pet some practical advice.⁴ He dissented entirely from the theory (based on a sentence of Abulfeda's) that the north coast of Asia bowed southwards from the Vaigatz Strait and thenceforward the way lay open to Canbalu. The north-stretching Cape Tabin of the classical writers did actually exist, he claimed, and on the hither side of it lay an ice-choked sea, which as the event proved, forced Pet and Jackman to return. In spite of this practical disappointment, Hakluyt continued to share Dee's high opinion of the authority of Abulfeda's *Geography* (known in Europe only in Ramusio's epitome) and tried in vain to get a copy of the original from Syria or Persia.

His cousin took a more cautious view of the doubtful topography of the North-east Passage region, and it may be inferred from what he wrote that he had studied both Dee's and

¹ Doc. 24, p. 143.

² E. G. R. Taylor, *Tudor Geography*, p. 114.

³ As shown by a comparison of Doc. 24 cited above and Dee's notes for Arthur Pet which Hakluyt subsequently published.

⁴ Doc. 26, p. 159.

Mercator's maps. His notes, which supplemented his verbal advice, were probably given into the hands of Nicholas Chancellor, the purser, who wrote one of the chronicles of the voyage. These notes were incidentally illustrative of the major economic problems of the day, and of Hakluyt's economic theories as already outlined.¹ First and foremost there was the need of new markets for the expanding manufacture of English woollens, especially for the coarser types of cloth for which there was a very limited European market. It was also very desirable that information should be obtained about Eastern dye-stuffs and dyeing methods, in order to lessen the need for importing continental dyes. Next there was the problem of the unemployed. If a vent could be found for knitted wares such as caps and stockings, for linen thread, for small iron goods such as pots, locks, bolts and hinges, for pewter ware and for saffron, all of which were cheaply produced in England, then large numbers of people, including unskilled workers, could be absorbed into industry. The burden of 'over-population', as it was loosely termed, could be relieved in another way. Were an English route to the Far East opened, way-stations after the model of those established by the Portuguese along the Cape Route would be necessary. These could be planted with what the lawyer termed 'the offals of our people'. The idea that undesirables could be shipped abroad, and would immediately become successful colonists, was as widespread in Elizabethan days as in later times. Nevertheless, it was recognised by the humane, among whom the two Hakluyts most certainly must be numbered, that there were many who could be redeemed from evil courses: the prevalence of vagabondage and petty crime was largely the result of unemployment and dire poverty rather than of vice.

Since the Pet and Jackman expedition proved a failure, the lawyer's careful notes and advice bore no fruit, but his young cousin preserved them and later on printed them for their general usefulness. A man of such sound judgment was not likely to lack employment for his talents, and in June 1581 the Privy Council called upon him to assist at a conference upon

¹ *Supra*, p. 14 n.

the restoration of Dover Haven.¹ The Navy Board was naturally strongly represented on this commission, and in 1581 the inclusion of Francis Drake's name was a matter of course. The lay members were the courtier Edward Dyer, the mathematician and designer of surveying instruments Thomas Digges, and the lawyer Richard Hakluyt. The last named found himself without doubt among old friends and acquaintances, for all alike were men who had shown an interest in 'sea-causes'.

Neither his plan for seizing Magellan's Strait nor his study of the North-east Passage problem sufficed to occupy the active mind of Richard Hakluyt of Oxford during 1580. He must have shared his cousin's disappointment over the dismantling of Humfrey Gilbert's fleet in 1579, for his reading of the Spanish and Portuguese histories had convinced him that 'planting' was the only sure road to new trades. To prevent loss of public interest in colonising schemes, and to inform public opinion thereon, he therefore handed over one of his volumes of Ramusio's *Viaggi* to the young Italian tutor and writing-master John Florio (then following his profession at Oxford), commissioning him to translate into English Jacques Cartier's *Voyages to Canada*.²

Florio's genius was for language and letters rather than science, and on the evidence alike of the cosmographical knowledge displayed, and the propagandist attitude adopted in the Preface to the Reader³, it is permissible to infer that the inspiration of this Preface was Hakluyt's. Here for the first time appeared in print the claim that the discovery of the Cabots gave the English a legal title to temperate North America. Here for the first time in print Norumbega and Saguenay were named as potential theatres for English planting. Here in outline form were to be found the views of the men who were the brains of the early colonising movement, John Dee, the Hakluyts, Sir

¹ *Acts of the Privy Council*, under date cited. Complaints as to the silting up of Dover Harbour had long been rife, and a petition for its repair, accompanied by a map drawn by P. Symons, is dated 1577 (*S.P. Dom.* cxx, 24). The technical problems presented were very intricate, and hence there was much disagreement between the experts, among whom William Borough and Thomas Digges must be included. A report by Digges dated 1583 indicates the slow progress of the work. Hakluyt's name is not again mentioned.

² F. A. Yates, *John Florio*, 1934.

³ Doc. 29, p. 164.

George Peckham, Walsingham, Lok, and Gilbert himself, views that had hitherto been a carefully guarded secret. Both Dee and the younger Hakluyt had pored deeply over the third volume of Ramusio, which contained the whole history of the exploration of the New World during the first half of the century. But there is material in the Preface to Florio's *Cartier* not to be found in Ramusio, notably the reference to an English fishing fleet 50 to 60 strong on the Grand Banks. From being almost negligible, the English fleet had reached those dimensions only during the last four or five years, and this information was to be found in Anthony Parkhurst's recent report to the elder Hakluyt¹ on Newfoundland. Florio, as a professional translator, may have echoed the wish that a wealthy patron would come forward and finance a complete English *Ramusio*, but the wish itself was surely Hakluyt's. It was his constant fault to give overmuch weight to the older printed authorities, while relying too little on his own collation and interpretation of more recent evidence. In Ramusio, the worthless and the precious were closely commingled.

5. DIVERS VOYAGES TO AMERICA

The failure to find a North-east Passage in 1580 was offset by Drake's success, and the year 1581 was spent in formulating plans for again reaching the Pacific and the Moluccas by a southern route. The interest displayed in St Vincent (Brazil) has already been spoken of, and plans for seizing the Azores, St Helena, and other of the Portuguese possessions along the great shipping routes took many men to sea.² Meanwhile, French official interest in Canada was reviving, and Sir Humfrey

¹ Docs. 20 and 21, pp. 123 and 127. *Supra*, p. 15.

² Docs. 30 and 31, pp. 168 and 169, are inserted to illustrate the situation in 1581. The fact that Richard Hakluyt the younger was committed by his convictions to the support of American enterprises perhaps explains why neither he nor his cousin apparently had any connexion with the Fenton voyage (originally intended to be led by Frobisher and Carlisle) of 1582. Fenton had orders to go by the Cape route direct to the Moluccas and China, but he planned to seize St Helena instead. Gross indiscipline and mismanagement combined to make the voyage abortive, although this is scarcely apparent in the official narrative. A certain Samuel Symbarbe joined the expedition as a 'traveller', i.e. private passenger. It is just possible that he provides a link with Hakluyt, who numbered a William Symbarbe among his fellow dons at Christ Church.

Gilbert's supporters began to put pressure on him to act, for he was not only threatened by French rivals, but with the withdrawal of his patent. It was expected that he would sail in 1582, but as a matter of fact the greater part of that year was spent in preparations, including the careful sifting of all available evidence as to the products and potentialities of eastern North America, and especially Norumbega. Sir Francis Walsingham associated himself closely with all the western voyages, and his daughter's husband Sir Philip Sidney was one of the subgrantees of a great tract of America. To the latter, whom he and his brother Oliver had known at Christ Church, Hakluyt dedicated a timely work which was, in effect, an exemplification and a development of the points made in the Preface to Florio's *Cartier*. The title, *Divers Voyages to America*, was descriptive, for the text included narrations of voyages to every part of the coast claimed for England. But it included, in addition, documentary evidence of the English title to the area, and an all-important Dedicatory Preface. The Preface¹ set out plainly the case for English planting, not only as an outlet for 'our superfluous people', but as making much more immediately practicable the discovery of a western passage to Cathay. Hakluyt had had the privilege of conversations with the Portuguese Ambassador, Antonio de Castilio, just before his recall in April 1582, and these had turned, as might have been expected from the Englishman's St Vincent project, upon the successful Brazilian sugar colonies, of which St Vincent was one. Were he a young man like Hakluyt, de Castilio said, he would risk all that he had to establish similar colonies in North America. The recent failures, alike of Frobisher's three voyages and Gilbert's enterprise of 1578-9, Hakluyt put down to faulty motives. Greed of gain rather than the promotion of religion and of public good had inspired them. But there was, he believed, another serious weakness that struck at the roots of English success at sea. This was the lack of systematic training in the art of navigation. Hakluyt had had his attention drawn to this matter by Steven Borough, one of the Masters of the Queen's ships, for it had been Borough's preoccupation

¹ Doc. 35, p. 175.

ever since, in Queen Mary's reign, he had witnessed the solemn admission of pilots at Seville. He had secured Richard Eden's interest, and Eden had published an English version of the best of the Spanish *Manuals for Seamen*, but both Cortez and Medina, the standard Spanish writers, were now out of date, and Eden had died four years previously. As both Hakluyt and Borough well knew, John Dee had for the last thirty years been teaching the use of new and improved instruments, charts and sailing methods, but in spite of his friends' importunities he would put down nothing on paper.¹ Less than a year before Hakluyt wrote his Preface Robert Norman, an instrument maker, had published important new discoveries about the seaman's compass, and Steven Borough's brother William had written a tract on the importance of magnetic variation.² But even William Borough could not distinguish between Mercator's and the Plain Chart, or explain the "plat of spirall lines" devised by Dee. The need for systematic instruction was urgent, and Hakluyt, besides discussing the matter with Alderman Barnes, the Governor of the Muscovy Company, had approached the man of the hour, Sir Francis Drake.³ Now Drake himself usually adopted the expedient of seizing Portuguese and Spanish pilots as and when he needed them and used foreign rutters and charts,⁴ but he genially promised to contribute to the stipend of a lecturer, and to fit him out with the necessary instruments and apparatus. Hakluyt had introduced a suitable man to Drake, but, in the absence of other patrons, the money offered was not enough, and the project fell through. Nevertheless, Hakluyt

¹ E. G. R. Taylor, *Tudor Geography*, pp. 108, 109.

² Robert Norman, *The New Attractive*, with (by) W.B., *A Discourse on the Variation of the Compass*, 1581. In the same year, John Frampton (encouraged by Edward Dyer) had brought out a translation of Medina's old-fashioned *Art of Navigation*.

³ Details regarding the events of the early months of 1582 can be gathered from the *Diary of Richard Madox* (Cotton MSS. Titus B VIII). Madox was chosen by the Earl of Leicester to go as chaplain of the party which Christopher Carlisle was to land in China. He was one of the University Proctors in Oxford, where Leicester was Chancellor. It appears that Drake sat beside Sir George Barnes during the deliberations upon the voyage at Muscovy House, and Hakluyt may have brought up the matter of a Lecture on Navigation before the two men simultaneously. Barnes, it may be noted, was Carlisle's maternal grandfather.

⁴ E. G. R. Taylor, *Pacific Historical Review*, Sept. 1932.

had not ceased his efforts, and as he had taken care to ascertain before mentioning it in print, Drake's offer of assistance still held good. The identity of Hakluyt's mathematical friend who was prepared to give the lectures on navigation for a sufficient stipend, and who was present during the discussion with the Portuguese Ambassador on planting, is nowhere revealed. It may have been Thomas Hariot, but equally it may have been Walter Warner (later with Hariot one of the Earl of Northumberland's 'magi'), for as appears from John Newbery's letter written in 1583¹ Warner was at the time one of Hakluyt's immediate circle. A third possibility is Nathaniel Torporley, a young mathematical student of Christ Church, who was in London in the spring of 1582. In company with Richard Madox, who was about to sail with Fenton, he paid a visit to Robert Norman's workshop in Ratcliff and looked at his new compasses. Madox was then lodging with Hakluyt's acquaintance Cyprian Lucar, whose cousin had sailed with Drake.²

This Lucar had furnished Hakluyt with the Thorne documents, already well known in manuscript³ but printed for the first time in the *Divers Voyages*. They were relevant to the English claim of 'first discovery'. Search for further evidence had taken Hakluyt to the house of John Stow, the antiquarian tailor, who allowed him to copy a manuscript English chronicle in his possession. But his chief assister had been Michael Lok, secretary to the Muscovy Company, not long released from his unjust imprisonment. Lok had a great deal of American material, including an old map by Verazzano, and from it he prepared the map which illustrated Hakluyt's book. The narrative of Verazzano's voyage (of first importance for its description of Norumbega) was borrowed from Ramusio, as was that of the

¹ Doc. 39, p. 197.

² E. G. R. Taylor, *Tudor Geography*, p. 282. The three mathematicians Robert Hues, Thomas Hariot and Walter Warner were all Hakluyt's contemporaries at Oxford, although four or five years his junior. Nathaniel Torporley was still an undergraduate in 1582. On William Gager's list of the senior members of Christ Church in 1583 the names of a Thomas Torporley and a Hugo Newbery occur. The latter may supply a link with John Newbery, but by this date Hakluyt needed no introduction to men who contemplated sea voyages.

³ *Tudor Geography*, p. 123.

Zeni brothers, then generally accepted as authentic. From his silence on the point, Hakluyt perhaps did not adopt Dee's view (as it had been explained to his cousin) that Zeni's Friseland and Estotiland must have been colonised by the British kings Arthur and Malgo, and were consequently already appendages of the English Crown.¹

The *Divers Voyages to America* as thus compiled formed a very complete manual for readers anxious to form an opinion on the merits of the North-west Passage and Western Plantation schemes. Doubtless the author carried a copy in his hand when he went down to Bristol in the autumn of 1582 to secure from the citizens a promise to equip two ships to sail with Humfrey Gilbert.² Their favourable answer was sent to Sir Francis Walsingham in November, but the Secretary of State, who kept a careful and considered control over all the different American projects, did not accept the offer until the following spring. He then chose Hakluyt as bearer of his reply, giving him at the same time a formal letter³ acknowledging the services he had performed for the advancement of cosmography. From Mayor Aldworth's subsequent letter to Walsingham concerning this mission it is clear that Hakluyt was *persona grata* in the western seaport, and that he had explained the proposed enterprise very lucidly. It was agreed that the Bristol ships should be at the disposal of Christopher Carlisle (Walsingham's stepson) who was to plant a hundred men at some spot other than that chosen by Gilbert. Assured of the Bristol support, Carlisle immediately proceeded to appeal to the Muscovy Company for the balance of the money needed, but the committee appointed to consider the matter⁴ stipulated that he must first obtain a

¹ *Diary of Dr John Dee*, ed Halliwell, p. 4. Dee had explained to the Queen her title to Greenland, Estotiland, Friseland, etc., presumably on the same grounds, when he visited Windsor in November 1577. In his *Pety Navy Royall*, he put forward the view that possession of opposite sea-boards gave to a Prince the dominion of the intervening sea, but Hakluyt subscribed to the view that the sea was free to all.

² Anthony Brigham went on a similar mission to Devonshire. As Bristol was the metropolis of western England and Wales, a Herefordshire man like Hakluyt would have plenty of acquaintances there. Philip Jones, to whom John Newbery sent greetings by Hakluyt, was probably the young Bristol man of that name who matriculated at Christ Church in 1581.

³ Doc. 38, p. 196.

⁴ Lansdowne MSS. 37, No. 72.

patent clearly defining the exclusive rights of their colonists. Gilbert, it will be remembered, had made extensive assignments of his original privileges to men like Sir George Peckham, John Dee and Sir Thomas Gerrard, and Peckham in turn had re-assigned to Sir Philip Sidney and others.¹ Carlisle was therefore most probably acting for a sub-patentee, and, having failed to satisfy the committee, did not in fact follow Gilbert as he had intended.

Hakluyt meanwhile had returned to London, where he rejoined his Oxford 'bedfellow', Stephen Parmenius, a scholarly Hungarian refugee, whom he had earlier introduced to Sir Humfrey Gilbert, then in the thick of his preparations.² It was essential for a colonising expedition to carry an educated man whose sole business it would be to prepare a suitable record of the observations made and knowledge gained during the preliminary voyage of reconnaissance. Parmenius was accepted by Gilbert with this idea in view, and sailed with him in June. Hakluyt hoped to follow in a later ship, no doubt one of Carlisle's, but he was not a free agent, and Walsingham had other ideas for a man with such obvious capacities for usefulness. A new ambassador was leaving for France in September, and Hakluyt was appointed as his private chaplain.³ Sir Edward Stafford, to whom he found himself thus attached, was a man (or so the Spanish Ambassador said) of no great ability, who had been useful to the Queen in the matter of her suitor the Duc d'Alençon.⁴ His mother was a principal Lady of the Bedchamber and slept with the Queen, while his wife was the lovely and charming Douglas Sheffield,

¹ Gilbert decided in February that he must sail, whether ready or no, and in consideration of further support from Peckham made to him and his son a specific grant of a block of country running for 60 miles west of Narragansett Bay, the 'Cinque Islands' of Verazzano's narrative. John Dee helped to select and define this choice section of territory, as is clear from the Articles of Agreement, quoted from the *Close Rolls*, 1154, by W. B. Goodwin. (Rhode Is. Hist. Soc. Collections, xxvii.)

² There were many such foreigners at Oxford. Some had lectureships, others gained a living by teaching privately.

³ The date of Hakluyt's ordination is not known, but there is no reference to him as being in Holy Orders before 1583.

⁴ There are numerous references to the comings and goings of 'Monsieur' in Dee's *Diary*, not all of them printed in Halliwell's transcript. The original of the *Diary* is among the Ashmolean MSS.

sister of Lord Charles Howard, and mother of the Earl of Leicester's eleven-year-old son, Robert Dudley. Douglas was both very kind and very useful to the dazzled chaplain, and he came to know the young Robert well.¹

Before following Hakluyt's career in Paris it is necessary to turn back once more to the events of 1582, in which year the careful preliminary work of a group of London merchants since 1575 had resulted in the launching of the Levant Company.² A number of agents, factors and consuls were appointed to establish and supervise a chain of English factories in Constantinople and the principal Levantine ports, and for the assistance of certain of these men the elder Hakluyt provided notes on relevant points of economic geography of which his cousin preserved copies.³ As it was naturally hoped that the new venture would lead to sales of English broadcloths and kerseys, these notes had special reference to the production of dye-stuffs and woollens. The first and shorter set, given to a personal friend, merely epitomised the lawyer's earlier advices to Hubblethorne the dyer. The second and longer document was addressed to the most capable of the newly appointed factors, named only as Master S., and contained suggestions as to the technical knowledge with which he should equip himself before sailing, and the information he ought to seize the opportunity of acquiring while in the East. It is in this paper that the elder Hakluyt reveals most clearly the deep and close attention which he paid, not only to the technical side of the woollen industry, but to the economic and social problems of the day. Not in almshouses and doles, but in increased employment lay the true cure of the poverty and distress everywhere evident in England. The way to achieve increased employment was by the expansion

¹ The Sheffields were a Lincolnshire family. Douglas was widowed in 1568 when she was left with a little daughter and a three-year-old son. The daughter subsequently married the Earl of Ormond. It is significant that Lady Sheffield is not mentioned in her first husband's will (Lansdowne MSS 116, 5). She married Edward Stafford in 1576, an admission that no valid marriage had taken place between herself and Leicester. When he was about twenty-two, Robert Dudley described himself as "Having ever since I could conceive of any thing been delighted with the discoveries of navigation", through Hakluyt's influence, as we may suppose.

² Sir Wm. Foster, *England's Quest of Eastern Trade*, chap. vi.

³ Doc 36, p. 182; Doc. 37, p. 184.

of industry, and the way to expand industry was to substitute the export of completely finished goods of high quality for that of coarse and partly finished goods, and for the raw materials then commonly exported. The introduction of foreign dyeing technique, and the naturalisation of plants yielding dye-stuffs might effect, so Hakluyt urged, a revolution in English industry, and Master S. might win for himself eternal fame if he made good use of the golden opportunities afforded by travel through the Turkish Empire.

The younger Hakluyt's services were likewise utilised in respect of this reopening of the Levant. It was felt that the overland route to India still afforded possibilities of competition with the Cape route, and on the return to London of John Newbery, an experienced Eastern traveller, in the autumn of 1582, he was engaged by the Levant Company to proceed to Hormuz by way of Aleppo. Before starting his voyage early in 1583 he visited and conferred with Richard Hakluyt of Oxford, who gave him, for the purpose of copying, a letter from Thomas Stevens, one of his Oxford contemporaries, who had recently gone out to Goa as a Jesuit priest. The letter was addressed to Stevens' father, but from its long narrative character was doubtless intended for wider reading in the writer's circle of acquaintance. Newbery unwittingly carried it away, with some other notes lent him by Hakluyt, and it is his letter of apology that has been preserved.¹ Incidentally this letter reveals the group of people whom Hakluyt had about him in the autumn of 1582—Philip Jones, later the translator of Meierus, Walter Warner the mathematician, and Peter Guillame who is otherwise unknown, although the name is a Herefordshire one.

While, as has been related, Hakluyt found time in 1582-3 to pay two visits to Bristol in Gilbert's interests, and to spend much time in London, he was still attached to Christ Church College. Indeed it is quite possible that his official duties there had stood in the way of his accompanying Stephen Parmenius when the latter sailed in the *Admiral*² of Gilbert's fleet. Since

¹ Doc. 39, p. 197.

² The ship second in importance to that of the General or Commander-in-chief.

1581 he had held the office of Censor¹ and he was probably in attendance at the ceremonies which, within a fortnight of Gilbert's sailing, were held at the university in honour of the visit of Prince Albert Laski. Laski visited the Earl of Leicester and John Dee before leaving for Oxford in the company of Philip Sidney. On his return he again spent hours in close conference with Dee, for he was deeply interested in the occult. At the university he was entertained with public debates and learned disputations, in which battle of wits the famous Italian philosopher Giordano Bruno took part. That Hakluyt met this great exponent of the Copernican doctrine is very likely, for John Florio, who was still at Oxford, formed a link between them. But Bruno's belief in the stars as inhabited worlds, equally with Dee's belief in the stars as ruling man's destiny, were alike ideas alien to Hakluyt's always orthodox mind. The two Italians, Florio and Bruno, went from Oxford to the French Embassy in London just at the time that Hakluyt went to the English Embassy in Paris.² As Embassy Chaplain Hakluyt was often to and fro between the two cities, and could have sought the company of the Italians had he wished. But his genius was eminently practical; he eschewed philosophy, and chose his friends accordingly.

As a thankoffering for his appointment at her hands, Hakluyt wrote out for the Queen an epitome³ of Aristotle's *Politics*, the subject on which he lectured at Oxford, but he was afforded no opportunity for presenting it before he crossed the Channel, a crossing made during a terrible storm.⁴ His heart must have

¹ Doc. 41, p. 203. The Censor of Christ Church to-day combines the functions of Dean and Senior Tutor. Direct evidence is lacking as to the duties of the Censor in 1581 other than those Hakluyt specifies (*loc. cit.*), but as Lecturer and Tutor on Aristotle he would be brought into close contact with the undergraduate students. A remark of Anthony à Wood suggests that the Censor was Dean of students as to-day. Toby Matthew, afterwards Archbishop of York, was Dean of Christ Church Cathedral at this time, while John King (afterwards Bishop of London) was one of the M.A.'s. The list of the dons in 1583 as given by William Gager (Add. MSS. 22,583) does not include any other distinguished names. Of Oliver Hakluyt Gager writes: "Dum tu, Haklete minor Galenum hinc, hinc Paracelsum | Expendis, medicum spem facis eximium."

² F. A. Yates, *John Florio*, 1934.

³ Doc. 41, p. 203.

⁴ Ed. Stafford wrote to Walsingham, Sept. 29, 1583: "Being yesterday arrived here at Boulogne, we came in so high a sea, that I, my wife and all my folks were so sea beaten that we were half dead" (*S.P. Foreign*, under date cited).

been heavy, for on the heels of the news of the loss of Gilbert's *Admiral* with the parson's Hungarian friend aboard came the strong rumour that the little *Squirrel*, the frigate on which Sir Humfrey himself was returning, had foundered with all hands during a dark and wild night.

6. IN PARIS

When all hope of Gilbert's survival had to be abandoned, the group of men who had been his financial supporters, and those to whom he had made assignments under his patent, took counsel together. Unless America was actually colonised by June 1584 the patent lapsed, and hence a desperate bid was made for new subscriptions so that an expedition could start at the earliest possible date in the spring. The principal member of the group was Sir George Peckham, who issued a pamphlet, extolling the proposed venture and offering attractive terms of participation, in the autumn of 1583.

Sir Francis Walsingham continued to take a close interest in the proceedings, and his stepson Carlisle was chosen to be the new leader. Before Hakluyt's departure the Secretary of State had discussed the whole enterprise with him, and the new Embassy Chaplain had received his instructions as to the sort of information he was expected to collect. Particularly was it important to watch closely the recently renewed semi-official French voyages to Canada, for there was no more certain means of maintaining interest and securing a flow of subscriptions than by pointing out sources of immediate profit. Such a profit the Frenchmen had discovered in the fur trade, a trade necessitating, however, friendly contact with the Indians of the great coniferous forest belt.¹ Incidentally, in his conferences with Walsingham, Hakluyt did not forget once more to press the point of the need of establishing a Lecture in Navigation.

Throughout the winter of 1583-4, Hakluyt was sending information to Walsingham, or (during the Secretary's illness)

¹ This trade, centring on Tadoussac, had no doubt been carried on by obscure individuals (as had the Newfoundland and Labrador fisheries) for many years prior to this date. The French have always shown great talent for establishing intimate relations with native peoples.

directly to Carlisle. As late as April 1st he had every expectation of the proposed Norumbega expedition's sailing.¹ Indeed in January he had professed himself ready to hurry back from Paris to England and take part in it himself if Sir Francis would arrange with the Ambassador and his College for his release from his duties.² No voyage, however, was undertaken. Carlisle had disappointed his stepfather before, for he should have commanded the landing party in Fenton's voyage of 1582, just as he should have commanded a colonising party in 1583. He was, however, by training, temperament and experience, a soldier rather than a coloniser, and in 1585 he found congenial employment with Drake in fighting in the Indies.

Meanwhile Walter Raleigh, who had followed his half-brother's schemes closely, was biding his time. Directly it became apparent that Gilbert's assigns could not take possession of a colony before the date on which their patent lapsed, he secured a new patent for himself, and prepared instructions for the two ships which were waiting his orders in the Thames. The patent was signed on Lady Day 1584. By April 27th, Captains Amadas and Barlow, accompanied by Simon Fernandez ('Secretary Walsingham's man') as master and chief pilot, were leaving the Channel for the voyage of reconnaissance. Richard Hakluyt's services were at once transferred to the new leader, and before the ships returned from Wingandacoa in mid-September, he had at Raleigh's request put down on paper the sum total of his reading, his reflection, and his direct enquiries since his arrival in France. The ambassador had his spies in every port,³ and these served Hakluyt's purpose also, while at 'my lord's table', and among the distinguished and varied company that attended at the Embassy, he was free to prosecute his researches. Apart

¹ Doc. 45, p. 208.

² Doc. 44, p. 205.

³ See *Calendar of State Papers (Foreign)* where the sources of Hakluyt's information can be traced. No doubt his French friends also drew on Hakluyt for information, since at this date both Catholics and Huguenots were planning overseas enterprises. On April 24th, for example, Philip du Plessis Mornay presented the French King with a *Discours sur les moyens de diminuer l'Espagnol*, which included schemes for securing the overland route from the East and the Isthmus of Darien, the latter with the help of the revolted natives. Du Plessis' English friends included Philip Sidney and Walsingham.

from his official position, the fact that he possessed a wide and deep knowledge of all matters of navigation and discovery, made him welcome in the society of French cosmographers, men of letters, overseas merchants, sailors and sea-captains, just as it had earlier made him welcome among their English confrères.

Chance threw yet wider opportunities in his way, for France, in succession to England, had now offered hospitality to the Portuguese pretender Don Antonio. The royal exile condescended to discuss cosmographical matters personally with Richard Hakluyt, and together they looked at ancient maps. More important still, the Don had about him a number of experienced East Indian residents, travellers and pilots, and the Queen Mother of France had in her employ a member of the famous family of cartographers, the Homems.¹ Anxious for English aid and for Spain's abasement, these men were ready to give the chaplain all the information that he desired, and what was irrelevant to the western endeavour he stored for future use.

It was in July that he found himself temporarily back in London, and free to gather up his material into the tract which he entitled: *A particular discourse concerninge the greate necessitie and manifolde commodityes that are like to growe to this Realme of Englande by the Western discoveries lately attempted.*² Known more shortly as *The Discourse of Western Planting*, this persuasive and logical pamphlet was not meant for the public eye; its purpose was to gain over the Queen, and to provide a textbook on colonisation for Sir Francis Walsingham.

From internal evidence it can be gathered that Hakluyt began the task of writing it in July 1584, and that he was then on a visit to London. Here he could personally consult alike his new patron Raleigh who resided at Durham House, and those of his own friends who might be of any direct assistance to him, or who could lend him books or maps. The work, involving as it did lengthy quotations from a wide range of printed authorities, occupied the writer right through August and into September,

¹ Andre Homem had been employed in Paris since the middle of the century under Royal patronage (G.J., vol. 77, p. 250).

² Doc. 46, p. 211.

but before it could be completed and utilised it was necessary to await the results of the preliminary voyage of Captains Amadas and Barlow. Their two barks arrived in the west of England in mid-September, and by the time they themselves had reached London and presented Raleigh with their glowing report of the discovery of Roanoke and Wingandacoa it was the end of the month. On October 5th Hakluyt was commanded to wait on the Queen with his *Discourse* and, after handing her also his treatise on Aristotle, he received from her the gracious grant of the first canonry or prebend to fall vacant at Holy Trinity, Bristol.¹ It is to be presumed that Hakluyt's own wishes had been indirectly consulted, and that it was no mere chance that opened out to him the possibility of a residence and an official status in the seaport which, after London, had the closest connexions with the Atlantic and the New World.

By October 7th he was at liberty to return to his duties in Paris, leaving the Queen to digest the *Discourse* at her leisure. Sir Walter Raleigh had, of course, no intention that others should reap where he had sown, and for the time being no one else was allowed a glimpse of the precious pamphlet.

The chapter headings were so framed as to provide a précis of the whole argument, and they reveal the clear and logical mind of the writer while reflecting also his strong nationalism and anti-Spanish prejudices. Originality of ideas was not to be looked for, since the main arguments for colonising America had already been formulated in the public and private statements issued by Gilbert, the elder Hakluyt, Anthony Parkhurst, Sir George Peckham and Carlisle, all members of a group of men with common aims to which the younger Hakluyt had for a decade been attached. Custom and true piety alike demanded that Hakluyt the Preacher should put the religious arguments first: the Protestant Church must remove the reproach that it

¹ "5 Oct. (1584) The Queen grants to Richard Hakluyt master of arts and professor of Theology that canonry or prebend within the cathedral church of Holy Trinity, Bristol, which shall be first become vacant, with all its appertaining emoluments, To hold for life provided always that if the same grant cannot take effect by reason of any prior grant that then the present grant shall extend to the second or third vacancy of any canonry or prebend within the said Cathedral Church. By writ of Privy Seal." Cited by Bruner Parks, *Richard Hakluyt and the English Voyages*.

had no missionary fervour. Catholicism (which spelt disloyalty to the Crown) was encouraged among seamen by trade with Spain, and it was easy, by means of particular instances, to prove that all other customary trades of English merchants into the Old World had grown either 'beggarly or dangerous'. Colonisation was to prove a panacea both for 'decayed trades' and for unemployment, since America would afford supplies of cheap raw materials of every kind, and provide a new market for English products. Six chapters are devoted to the subject on which Hakluyt felt most strongly, the effectiveness of English colonisation as a 'bridle' to the King of Spain. On the one hand he could point to the economic mischief wrought in Europe by the stream of treasure pouring into Spanish coffers, on the other to the newly revealed weakness of the hold of Spain on her American possessions. A repetition of the story of Spanish atrocities as told by las Casas was intended to arouse the moral indignation of the reader, while the geographer in Hakluyt could make plain not only the need but the strategic value of a British America which would command the Newfoundland fishing banks on one flank, and the homeward route from the Indies on the other. Winds and currents held the returning Plate fleet within striking distance of the mainland for some distance north of 30° , as experience had proved, and this advantage was to be exploited.

Leaving Spain out of consideration, the establishment of an English trans-Atlantic trade would involve no such friction with other nations, as did, for example, the Guinea trade, or that to the Levant, or that through the Sound to the Baltic. There was the further positive advantage that by using the southern and western ports of Ireland as bases for this new trade, that restless and backward country might be bound in its own interests to peace and progress. The new inland and outward customs would increase the royal revenues without the need of obnoxious levies, while the new ships built for colonial trade would be those of considerable burden, so essential for naval purposes in times of war. This list of positive gains is skilfully followed up by a warning that if England does not seize her chance some foreign nation will forestall her, but Hakluyt had lived too closely in the company of the recent adventurers and their backers to be

unaware of the reaction of doubt and disaffection which had resulted from the successive failures of Frobisher, Fenton and Gilbert. Would not this new enterprise result merely in shame and dishonour for the promoters? He answers this by a promise of immediate profits, such as the French were now making year by year in Canada from furs and fish.

But there was still a school of thought which held that England's economic salvation lay in the discovery of a direct route to Cathay and the Moluccas. To it Adrian Gilbert and John Dee adhered, and they had some direct support from Sir Francis Walsingham. To meet this point Hakluyt pointed out that the new colony would serve as a far more convenient base for the search for the North-west Passage than England itself, while there was strong hope of an inland passage such as was suggested by Verazzano's maps.

Another grave objection remained to be met. Would not an English colony be immediately dislodged from America by the Spaniards or the French? The Queen would countenance nothing illegal, and to win her over, proofs of her title to America were therefore set down by Hakluyt much as Dee had set them down some years earlier, and he next attempted to show that the grants made under the famous Bull of Pope Alexander VI were *ultra vires*.

It only remained for the author to draw his arguments together in a final chapter, but (urged perhaps by his more practical cousin) he subsequently added to his pamphlet some detailed notes on the necessary provision to be made for a colony in the wilderness, together with a warning that such provision involved a lengthy period of preparation before the voyage should actually be made. In the event, Raleigh, like Gilbert, was too impatient to follow such sound advice; minute planning spells delay, and cooling of enthusiasm; moreover, it smacks of pedantry!

In spite of the more brilliant capacities and more up-to-date knowledge of the younger Hakluyt, the latter had not yet entirely superseded his elder cousin as a colonial adviser. The lawyer's assistance was invited, and he wrote a tract¹ entitled

¹ Doc. 47, p. 327.

Inducements to the liking of the voyage intended towards Virginia, which was intended for the information and encouragement of the actual colonists. As might be expected this pamphlet dealt chiefly with the economic aspects of the new enterprise. The region chosen for settlement lay in the latitudes which the writer had always deemed best for the purpose, namely, those of Spain and Italy. He envisaged an agricultural colony based on the production of sugar, olives, vines, mulberries, oranges, figs, and other Mediterranean staples, and he provides careful information as to the methods by which such plants could be introduced into Virginia and the number of years within which they would begin to bear. The elder Hakluyt, using as he did the phrase 'Traffique followeth conquest', was in this pamphlet enunciating the principle that 'Trade follows the flag', and he was emphatic that in face of all annoyances and even injuries, peaceful and friendly relations with the aborigines must be established and maintained. Hence he would have no hot-head leader, but "it is to be wished that some ancient captaines of mild disposition and great judgement be sent there". Since an agricultural colony takes time and skill to establish, possible sources of immediate profit were to be keenly looked for. Buffalo hides could be shipped home immediately, brine could be evaporated for salt, the forests were to be exploited for naval and marine stores, the fisheries for immediate food-supply. New markets would eventually be opened, English merchant shipping increased, unemployment reduced, and industry developed. Trade with Spain would automatically disappear as the colonial produce became available.

Such were the unexceptionable views and aims of all the statesmen and thinkers behind the earlier colonial ventures. But the actual promoters were looking for wealth and fame: private financial backers expected cent. per cent. profits: the colonists themselves dreamt of filling their pockets with treasure such as had traditionally rewarded the Portuguese and Spanish pioneers. Only a negligible minority faced the reality of the situation, namely, that a picked personnel and a large capital are alike necessary for successfully opening up virgin territory. As long ago as 1565, John Sparke the younger had pointed out

that the task of colonising Florida was an enterprise for the purse of a prince, and beyond the scope of private individuals. Hakluyt had by him, too, the sobering letter of Stephen Parmenius written from Newfoundland only a short time before he met his death by drowning. Such a sum as £4000, which had been estimated as adequate to equip and maintain the first hundred colonists to be taken out by Carlisle in 1583, was absurdly inadequate even if the higher value of money in the sixteenth century is taken into account. But optimism prevailed, and (although not on this occasion) the English eventually learned how to plant a colony by the traditional method of trial and error.

What had been in the minds of Raleigh and Hakluyt, probably too of Walsingham, when they drew up the general scheme for colonisation, can be gathered from the *Discourse of Western Planting*. The practical notes mentioned above form merely an appendix, and the true close and climax of the document was Chapter xx. That chapter drew all the previous arguments together, but what is most significant is its title: "A brief collection of certaine reasons *to induce her Majestie and the State to take in hand* the western voyage and the planting there". That was the crux of the matter. If colonisation was to bring about all that Hakluyt promised, it must be undertaken on a magnificent scale. Moreover, the benefits that were to accrue were to be national benefits or even international, if the parson's dream of providing "a safe and sure place to receive people from all partes of the worlde that are forced to flee for the truth of God's word" was to be fulfilled. Hence while the preliminary reconnaissance and experiments might be carried out by patriotic individuals like Raleigh, the main undertaking was one for State enterprise.¹ Indeed, only the State purse, which in Tudor days was the Queen's purse, was deep enough for the purpose. But Queen Elizabeth at fifty was not sanguine of new enterprises, and the still older Burghley

¹ Peckham, on the contrary, insisted "that the planting in these parts is a thing that may be done without the ayde of the Princes power and purse, contrary to the allegation of many malicious persons". (*True Report*, Chap. 7.) He could not, of course, expect Royal support for the settlement of Catholic noblemen and gentlemen which he had in mind.

probably thought that in spite of unemployed sons, wandering beggars and old soldiers from Flanders, England's man-power could not bear large-scale depletion. The Queen read Hakluyt's *Discourse*, she rewarded the writer, she confirmed Raleigh's patent, but that was all.

That preparation was made for a wider publicity is suggested by a further pamphlet of this date (1584-5) that has survived in manuscript. It consists of two parts, the first the deposition of David Ingram to Walsingham, Peckham and others made in 1582, purporting to describe eastern America from the Gulf of Mexico to Cape Breton; the second, *Inducements to the lyking of the voyage intended etc.* which embodies material taken (sometimes verbatim) from the longer tract by the elder Hakluyt, and from the younger man's *Discourse*. Addressed to the general public, it stresses the openings for the unemployed in new colonies, and may safely be attributed to the lawyer.¹

During the winter of preparation for sending out the first actual colony the younger Hakluyt was back in Paris, and continued to send to Raleigh all the additional information he could collect.² Once the fleet was well away, he crossed over to England and fulfilled his promise of presenting Walsingham personally with a copy of his *Discourse*.³ The Earl of Leicester had repeatedly written to him for a sight of it, but Hakluyt was never Leicester's man, and he preferred to offer the next transcript⁴ to an unknown 'your worship' who may have been Thomas Smythe, already active in promoting the Levant Company. Meanwhile the coveted prebend had fallen vacant at Bristol, and Hakluyt (who had been anxiously dreading to be forestalled) hastened down to take up the appointment in person before returning once again to Paris.

The Virginia colonists must have included many of his friends. Thomas Hariot and Thomas Cavendish were among them, but unfortunately none of the letters that they doubtless wrote to

¹ *The Relacon of Davyd Ingram*. Sloane MSS. 1447. Doc. 48, p. 339.

² Raleigh had taken to heart his views on the importance of mathematics in the Art of Navigation, and was already supporting Thomas Hariot in his household so that he could study the problems involved.

³ Doc. 49, p. 343.

⁴ Doc. 50, p. 346.

him have been preserved. The Governor, Ralph Lane, an elderly soldier full of 'plots' and schemes for England's betterment (he claimed to have seven ships ready to attack Spain at Christmas 1584¹), was the contemporary and friend of the elder Hakluyt, and perhaps one of the 'ancient captaines' he had in mind as leader in writing his tract. Lane wrote from Roanoke to the lawyer, and this letter² was subsequently printed in the *Principal Navigations*.

Sir Richard Grenville returned on October 29th with the report that he had safely landed the colonists and their stores, and their letters and messages home led everyone to believe that the enterprise was safely launched. Hakluyt had arranged with his friend Martin Basanier for the publication of Laudonnière's manuscript *Histoire de la Florida*, and so he caused the editor to address a timely laudatory dedication to Sir Walter Raleigh³ giving prominence to his promotion of Virginia. Hakluyt himself added a Latin verse⁴ in which he linked Raleigh's name with those of Vasco da Gama and Cortes. Before the volume was actually issued from the press, the chaplain was back in England, and only a few months later, in July 1586, the news was public that the first colony had failed. Seized with panic the planters had begged Drake to bring them home, without waiting for the supply ship which was on the point of reaching them. Raleigh had all his work to do over again, and he again enlisted Hakluyt's aid.

A bookish man himself, Hakluyt believed that books were the most convincing propaganda. He once more turned to Basanier, and induced him to edit a French edition of the recently published narrative of the voyage to New Mexico of Antonio Espejo.⁵ Its importance lay in the fresh news it contained of mineral wealth

¹ A few years earlier, in 1579, he was asking Burghley's leave to engage the kings of Algiers and Fez to ally themselves with the English and harass the Spanish shipping. The scheme of an Anglo-Moroccan alliance, and an English settlement on the North-west African coast on the flank of the Canary Islands, was one which Roger Bodenham earnestly pressed on Queen Elizabeth's Minister. Whether bound for the West or the East Indies, all Spanish and Portuguese shipping followed the 'Portuguese trades' to the Canaries, which formed the true point of departure from Europe as the Azores formed the common point of return, in accordance with the general set of winds and currents.

² Doc. 51, p. 346.

³ Doc. 54, p. 350.

⁴ Doc. 53, p. 349.

⁵ Hakluyt had paid for the Paris reprint of 1586.

in the interior of North America. Hakluyt further commissioned the famous Portuguese cartographer, André Homem, to draw for Raleigh a new map in illustration of this voyage.¹ For his own part he proposed to bring out a complete edition of the *Decades* of Peter Martyr, a work which contained, so he considered, valuable lessons for the English colonists, who could there read of the early failures and successes of the Spaniards. The publication also afforded him the opportunity of penning a long Preface² in Raleigh's praise, and reasserting the English claim to America by prior right based on Cabot's discovery. This Preface is dated towards the end of February 1587, and contains an eloquent appeal for Virginia, with a prophecy of immortal fame to the promoters and undertakers, and a censure of all detractors. The fourth voyage, carrying the third group of colonists (for Grenville had left fifteen men at Roanoke in 1586) was then in preparation, although the ships did not actually leave Plymouth until May 8th.

The three publications mentioned above with which Hakluyt was concerned all appeared in Paris, but during the summer of 1587 an English version of Espejo was independently published in London.³ The slanders circulated by the disappointed members of the first group of colonists were doing serious harm, and to combat them Thomas Hariot wrote his *True Report of Virginia*, which was at first privately circulated and then printed in 1588. Hakluyt, meanwhile, did not rest, but gave himself up to the task of translating Laudonnière's *Florida* into English. In October 1587, Captain Edward Stafford returned with the news that he had safely landed the large group of men and women known as the Second Colony of Virginia. Hakluyt was therefore able to preface his translation with fresh praise of Raleigh,⁴ and of his enterprise, and there is no doubt that such prefaces and dedications were planned as mediums of publicity and propaganda.⁵

¹ Doc. 55, p. 353. See also A. Cortesão: *Cartografia e cartografos portugueses*.

² Doc. 56, p. 356.

³ A.F. (trans.), *Voyage of Antonio de Espejo to New Mexico in 1583*. 1586.

⁴ Doc. 58, p. 372.

⁵ See p. 355 n. This impression is conveyed by the terms in which Hakluyt writes to Raleigh. Ortelius saw an advertisement of Hakluyt's *Decades* in the catalogue of Frankfurt book-fair in 1589, and wrote questioning his nephew Cole about it, as being Hakluyt's intimate friend.

But Hakluyt's was no feigned enthusiasm. When he wrote, John Davis was not long back from his third voyage to high latitudes, and the chaplain believed that the discovery of a sea-way that bowed from the north round to the west of Virginia, was imminent. An English America and an English way to Cathay combined to make a golden prospect. Actually, the colony was doomed. Sir Walter Raleigh furnished a supply fleet in the following spring which Sir Richard Grenville was to lead across the Atlantic. But this was the *Annus Mirabilis*, 1588, and both general and fleet were stayed in England on the rumour of the Spanish Armada. Governor John White, who had come home in the last autumn against his own wish, had left a daughter and a new-born grandchild in Virginia. His earnest entreaties secured two tiny ships in lieu of Grenville's fleet, and with fifteen new planters and some scanty supplies he left the coast of Cornwall on April 22nd. But war was in the air, and the ship-master and seamen thought only of prizes. White got no farther than Madeira, and in a month's time was back in England, badly wounded. Three years passed before he could again secure a ship, this time as a solitary, unwanted passenger. A flying visit revealed that Roanoke had been deserted: the master would search no further, and John White came home, refusing still to abandon hope although admitting that he himself could do no more.¹

When he first went out to Virginia in 1585, White's position was that of official artist and cartographer. He had drawn a map of Virginia (to accompany Hariot's *True Report*), and made a set of pictures of the Red Indians and their surroundings, acting on Raleigh's instructions. The latter had commissioned a similar set of illustrations of Florida from Jacob Le Moyne,² an aged Huguenot refugee who had been with Laudonnière more than twenty years previously. Jacob was engaged on this work and living in London at Raleigh's expense in 1587, but about a year later he died. There was in England no engraver capable of handling such work nor were the pictures suitable for the modest

¹ "Thus committing the reliefe of my discomfortable company the planters in Virginia to the merciful help of the Almighty." See *infra*, p. 417.

² Or Morgues (see *infra*, p. 373).

format of Hariot's or Hakluyt's publications. The latter, however, had met either in Paris or London the famous Dutch engraver, Theodore De Bry, who with his two talented sons now had an atelier in Frankfort-on-Main, where the great book-fairs were held. Continental interest in the recent English enterprises was extraordinarily keen (witness the rapid appearance of two continental editions of Frobisher's adventures) and Hakluyt drew De Bry's attention to the unpublished material of White and Le Moyne, which suggested to him the plan of a new large-scale *History of Voyages*. De Bry himself fetched the pictures and descriptive texts from London,¹ probably in 1589, and handed the latter (including Hariot's *Report*) over to his friend, the botanist Charles de L'Escluse, who was at the time also residing in Frankfort. L'Escluse prepared a French and a stately Latin version² while another translator rendered the material into German. The letterpress attached to White's pictures appears to have been prepared from the Englishman's own notes, for the first person is used, but the English original could not have been suitable for publication as it stood, since for the English edition Hakluyt retranslated L'Escluse's Latin. When doing so, he also seized the opportunity to correct an error made in the editorial preface by De Bry to the effect that he had actually seen Virginia himself.³

On April 1, 1590, the work of Hariot and White, sumptuously

¹ "Welches Original ich von Johan With (*sic*) Engellandischen Mahler bekommen, durch den fleiss Herrn Richarten Hackluyt von Ochsfurt dess Gottlichen Worts Predicant, der die Landschaftt selbst gesehen, mir auch gerahten ich solte diss Buch in Truck aussgehen lassen." The Latin version reads: *Volui hoc liber vobis proponere veras eorum picturas, mihi opera Domini Richardi Hackluyt Oxoniensis, verbi Dei Ministri (qui eam regionem vidit, et auctor fuit ut hic liber in publicum prodiret)*. De Bry was in London in 1587 for the purpose of engraving the plate depicting Sir Philip Sidney's funeral procession.

² "Touching the still of both Discourses I have caused yt to be reduced into very Good Frenche and Latin by the aide of a verry worshipfull friend of myne" (Preface to English edition).

³ See note above. "The true Pictures of those people wich by the helpe of Maister Richard Hakluyt of Oxford, Minister of Gods word, who first encouraged me to publish the work, I creaved out of the very original of Maister Jhon White. . . . A vistorye (*sic* for history) so rare as I thinke the like hath not been heard nor sene. I creaved both of them at London, and brought them hither to Frankfurt." Thus Hakluyt translated the editorial note of De Bry for the English version, but as the printing was done abroad he could not correct the proofs.

printed and engraved, appeared simultaneously in four languages as Volume I of the *Peregrinations* of De Bry. The English version, as was only meet, was dedicated to Sir Walter Raleigh. Less than a year later the second volume appeared, containing Laudonnière's *History of Florida* with the illustrations of Le Moyne. The linked names of Raleigh, Hakluyt and Virginia were thus made known to every cultured reader in Western Europe, a magnificent tribute to the enterprise of the small nation that had recently astonished the world by the defeat of the Armada.

Apart from literature, however, the Spanish War had naturally put a temporary check on the business of promotion of overseas enterprise, and the elder Hakluyt engaged in it no more. He had made his will¹ in the autumn of 1587, apparently when an epidemic was raging, and appointed Oliver Hakluyt of Christ Church his principal heir. He was living down in Herefordshire at the time and appears to have been devoting himself to the care of his estates. Then, as now, the country about Leominster was noted for its fine cattle, and Hakluyt did considerable business as a grazier, that is to say he fattened oxen for the butcher. During the years 1588-9, the Purveyor for the Royal Household took up several of his great stall-fed beasts, with the result that Hakluyt in the spring of 1589 made a complaint, first to the Privy Council and then directly to Lord Burghley.² He could not, it appears, obtain the substantial sum owing to him from the Royal coffers for his cattle, and, further, the amount due was disputed by the Purveyor. Instead of paying the price at which the animals were valued when they left the farm, he was prepared to pay only the far lower price offered by the London butchers when they arrived. Hakluyt's letter in which he states his case reveals the lawyer, as might be expected, as a keen man of business, but from the memoranda³ that have been preserved of the Purveyor's reply, made when an enquiry was ordered, it would seem that he did not succeed in getting redress. No further records of his life exist, and he died at

¹ Doc. 57, p. 370

² Doc. 62, p. 382. He possessed twenty-three oxen in 1583.

³ Doc. 63, p. 384

Eyton early in 1591, to be followed to the grave¹ two years later by his nephew Edmond. He had never married, but after his death his nephew Oliver migrated to Eyton, and brought up a family there. The lawyer's nature was a gentle one. From the way in which he dwells upon them in his writings, it would seem that he was a lifelong lover of flowers and herbs and trees. He knew and treasured the names of those who introduced new species of plants into England and besides his studies of law and economics he was learned in the botanical works of Drs Pena and Lobel,² Rambert Dodoens³ and Charles de l'Escluse. The latter he may have met when he visited England in 1571, and again in 1581, and their common interests suggest that he was the acquaintance of Dr Lobel (who was first in England from 1569 to 1571), and of William Gerard, the famous herbalist, who kept Lord Burghley's garden.⁴ He lived to see his nephew

¹ He was buried at Leominster.

² The *Stipium Adversaria Nova* by Pena and Lobel was published in London in January 1571.

³ An English edition of Dodoens' *Cruydtboeck*, translated by Henry Lyte appeared in 1578. Hakluyt suggested that a copy should be carried by Pet and Jackman to delight the Emperor of Cathay.

⁴ Charles de l'Escluse, Peter Pena, and Matthias Lobel were a trio of famous herbalists who had studied at Montpellier University about the middle of the century. The Wars of Religion drove l'Escluse and Lobel from France, and they became closely associated with the Antwerp intellectuals, including Ortelius and the publisher Plantin. The English voyages to the West Indies from 1563 onwards led to the introduction of many rare or unknown plants, such as tobacco, sweet potatoes and agaves, into London gardens. Lobel came over to England to study the local flora in 1569, and wrote his *Stirpium Adversaria Nova* (in collaboration with Pena) the following year. In this work he states that Hugh Morgan, a noted herbalist and pharmacist (whom Gerard also names among his friends), had brought plants from the Indies, while others had been obtained from the ship-masters of a fleet which had returned 'this last summer', presumably in 1570. This may have been one of Drake's unrecorded voyages. Secretary Cecil (as he then was) already had his famous garden in the Strand, which Lobel knew well, and Lord Hunsdon was another collector of rare plants. Lobel went to Antwerp in 1571, the year in which l'Escluse came to London, and made acquaintances there. During his later travels in Central Europe he corresponded (according to Gerard) with Dr James Garret and Richard Garth, the latter named as one of his own friends by Hakluyt of Oxford. Somewhere about 1577-8 de l'Escluse sent the first tulip bulbs seen in England to his London friends, a fact recorded by the elder Hakluyt. It was his translation of Rambert Dodoens' *Herbal* that was retranslated into English by Henry Lyte, and in this version recommended by Hakluyt. The news of Drake's circumnavigation drew him once more to London in 1581, and he states that he was much in company with Laurence Elyot, one of the gentlemen who accompanied Drake, as well as with the

Richard a successful and well-known man; his many-sided interests and many friendships with men of mark must have made his own life a rich and full one.

The younger Hakluyt was engaged during 1588 chiefly on diplomatic work, including the carrying of despatches between London and Paris. As a letter he wrote in April to Lord Burghley shows, the Embassy was a hotbed of spying and intrigue.¹ The exiled Earl of Westmorland had been importuning the chaplain to act as intermediary to secure for him the Queen's pardon. A spy had assured him that the fleet at Lisbon (the Armada) would never sail. My Lord Ambassador himself was growing weary of the dangers, expenses and difficulties of his position, and longed to be home. In July he was trying to arrange for a recall, but he wished his wife (who was to be his suitor to the Queen) to believe that this was because his friends were urging his return to England.² Douglas Sheffield's charm had made her a favourite at the French Court and in French society³ and her husband may have feared that she would not wish to leave Paris. Actually, however, Sir Edward served for another three years, while in the winter of 1588-9 the chaplain had the honour of escorting his enchanting mistress to London.

leader himself. That he mixed even more widely with the men interested in overseas expansion is suggested by his dedication of a work written in the same year to Philip Sidney and Edward Dyer. The re-establishment of the Levant trade gave further opportunities to the English plant lovers. Sir William Harborne sent bulbs home to Lord Burghley from Constantinople, Nicholas Leate (one of the merchants) instructed his factor in Syria to collect plants, and Gerard the herbalist sent one of his own servants as surgeon in the *Hercules*, presumably in the voyage of 1586, for the same purpose. Dr Lobel travelled in Europe with Lord Edward Zouch, and returned to England in 1590. His daughter married Hakluyt's friend Jacob Cole (Ortelianus). Hakluyt of Oxford met Dr Pena in Paris in 1584, and from their community of interests and of friends it is safe to assume that both Hakluyts were acquainted with all the notable botanists who have been named.

¹ Doc. 60, p. 379.

² This can be gathered from his letter to Walsingham written July 7, 1588: "...for in truth I should be loth to have her conceive otherwise of me than in truth it is, for indeed I have found her as loving a wife to me as I would be loth to have her conceive a thought of unkindness". In the same letter he writes "I have at length...with gentleness and reason persuaded my wife that she is contented to be a suitor to her Ma^{tie} to do somewhat for me".

³ She was the confidante of the Queen Mother (Catharine de Medici) and the intimate of Mme Joyeuse, wife of the Lord Admiral, the latter a favourite of the king's.

Perhaps he brought her to take part in the solemn thanksgiving of November 29th for the victory over the Armada, for her eldest son, Lord Sheffield, had been knighted in the engagement. Hakluyt never left England again.

Whilst he must have been heart-sick at the neglect of the Virginia enterprise, the parson was still full of plans. How he fostered the great work of De Bry has already been told, and he had also in mind the preparation of an edition of the *Geography* of Abulfeda, news of which reached Ortelius through Emanuel van Meteren.¹ More important still he was now revolving and maturing his plans for publishing an English *Collection of Voyages*,² a task which a period of comparative leisure would make possible. Long before Virginia was known to be doomed, the many-faceted mind of Raleigh had been playing with new ideas. Among the prisoners brought home from the Azores by two of his ships in 1586 was no less a person than the renowned Spanish navigator, Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa.³ In England Sarmiento was treated rather as an honoured guest than as a captive, and Raleigh made so much of him that Don Antonio of Portugal, who was once more enjoying the Queen's hospitality, showed himself bitterly jealous. The man who had been in King Solomon's Islands, who had planted a colony in the Strait of Magellan, who had written with authority on the history of the gorgeous Incas and the legend of El Dorado, had ample means to fire Raleigh's imagination afresh in what was an hour of disappointment. "Many years since", Sir Walter wrote in 1596, "I had knowledge *by relation* of that mighty, rich and beautiful Empire of Guiana, and of the great and golden city...." Sarmiento was set at liberty and travelled towards Spain through France, where he was when Richard Hakluyt sent Raleigh news of him on December 30, 1586.⁴ He had just been taken prisoner again by the Protestants, when within four

¹ T. Smith, *G. Camdeni Epistolae*, p. 33.

² Which he mentions in his *Preface* of February 1587; see p. 369.

³ Captain Whiddon was in command and the prizes were brought into Southampton. Hakluyt published John Evesham's narrative of the affair, and it seems that a copy of Sarmiento's map of Magellanica was hastily thrown overboard.

⁴ Doc. 55, p. 354.

stages of the Spanish frontier. Hakluyt speaks of him with indignation as having intrigued against his protectors with a well-known Spanish merchant in London, Peter Zubiaures,¹ but doubtless the chaplain did not miss the opportunity of seeing and speaking with him during his brief stay in Paris. Information about Magellan's Strait and the Spanish colony there was of very special interest, for (following on the heels of the Earl of Cumberland's fleet) Hakluyt's friend Thomas Cavendish had set out to pass that way into the Pacific only a few months earlier in the same year. He had been one of the members of the first Virginia colony, but he needed money, and the emulation of Drake's exploits was more to his taste.

7. OPUS MAJUS

Cavendish came home rich, but to Hakluyt it was of greater importance that he brought back much geographical material, including a great map of China, and bestowed it on his friend. He brought, besides, two intelligent men from Japan and the Philippines respectively, whom the parson interrogated, but without making any notes of these conversations for publication. Hakluyt's collection of notes and documents must already have been very large, but so far it had been made with particular reference to America, and consequently, now that he had in view a complete and balanced survey of all the English voyages of which he could find record, a tremendous task still remained to be done. The work occupied, in fact, the greater part of a year (from about November 1588 to November 1589), and as he held no appointment besides the Bristol prebend, it is reasonable to suppose that the editor divided his time between the latter city, London, and possibly Oxford.

A very substantial proportion of the first edition of the *English Voyages* consisted of reprints of works already, and in most cases quite recently, published in London. For such reprinting, how-

¹ This was the man who undertook the negotiations regarding Drake's robberies of 1578-9. There is little doubt that he acted as a spy. Sarmiento (according to a report by the Ambassador) had scoffed at the kindness of the Queen and Raleigh as evidence of weakness when he was among the enemies of England, although professing his gratitude and ready service when he believed his words would reach Stafford's ears.

ever, Ramusio's *Viaggi* afforded a precedent of which Hakluyt had already proved the usefulness. No library of separate works could have provided the reader with so telling and illuminating a review of English maritime history as his single-volume collection with its careful arrangement of matter according to time and place. Ramusio, however, had linked the original narratives, or introduced them, by pieces from his own pen, and this, fortunately or unfortunately, Hakluyt failed to do. His personal contributions were limited to the Dedication,¹ Preface² and Table of Contents, with a very few critical notes³ and comments, and an occasional compilation of material not available in narrative form.⁴ From time to time he acted as amanuensis to travellers who were unable or unwilling to face the task of writing down their experiences, but it is a matter for surprise that such services were so rarely needed. The average Elizabethan merchant, factor, purser or pilot was capable of expressing himself fluently, often dramatically, and a comparison of the few original manuscripts available with the printed versions suggests that Hakluyt made few changes, save in the spelling of words.

According to Hakluyt, it was Edward Dyer who had chiefly encouraged his undertaking, but Walsingham's position as Secretary of State, and the part he had played in fostering Western discoveries, made him the fitting recipient of the Dedication, which is largely autobiographical. The names chosen, in addition to Dyer's, for special mention in the Preface are those of Richard Staper, one of the founders of the Levant Company, William Borough, Clerk to the Navy, Anthony Jenkinson, formerly Ambassador to Russia, Sir John Hawkins, Sir Walter Raleigh, and Richard Hakluyt of the Middle Temple. They make an imposing group enough, and the more closely the elder Hakluyt's work is examined, the more it becomes plain that it was no mere family sentiment that gave him a place beside these distinguished men.

Oliver Hakluyt was still at Christ Church in 1589, having recently taken a degree in medicine, and the date when Richard

¹ Doc. 65, p. 396.

² Doc. 66, p. 401.

³ Doc. 64, p. 395.

⁴ Doc. 64, p. 385. There were serious errors in this compiled material, so that it may perhaps be fortunate that the editor obtruded himself so little.

resigned his studentship (the equivalent of a fellowship) is obscure. In the Index of his *Principal Navigations*, presumably compiled when the work was practically complete, he describes himself as 'of Oxford', but on the title-page, which would be printed just before the book left the press (in late January or February 1590) he is called 'student some-time of Christ Church, Oxford'. His studentship was only necessarily terminable on marriage, and it is not unlikely that he relinquished it on his betrothal to Douglas Cavendish,¹ and that his marriage took place in the spring of 1590 (1589 old style). The daughter of John Dee's scholarly friend Richard Cavendish, a Suffolk man well known in London and at Court, her name suggests that she may have been a god-daughter of Douglas Howard, Lady Sheffield. Certainly, just at this time Lady Sheffield presented Hakluyt to a living in her gift, that of Wetheringsett in Suffolk, to which he was inducted in April 1590. Her son, Sir Robert Dudley, went up to Christ Church in 1587, and married a first cousin of Douglas Cavendish in 1592, when only nineteen. This girl was sister to Thomas Cavendish the navigator. At the date thus problematically assigned to Hakluyt's marriage, his youngest brother Edmond was tutor to Lord William Howard, nephew to Lady Sheffield.² The whole situation is typical of the relations existing in Tudor times between the nobility and the gently born professional and intellectual classes. The tutor, the chaplain, the physician, the librarian, were treated by those employing them as members of the family, and intermarriage was not uncommon.

In March 1589, Hakluyt had become one of the second group of assigns of Raleigh's Virginia patent, for his views on colonisation remained unchanged. Among the notable men associated with him as patentees were Thomas Smythe and William Sanderson, the former the patron of Thomas Hood the mathe-

¹ Robert Parke, who translated Mendoza's *China* at Hakluyt's request, referred to him towards the close of 1588 as 'late of Oxford' (in the Dedication prepared for New Year's Day 1589). It would, however, be natural for a layman who knew that Hakluyt had exchanged Oxford residence for a chaplaincy in Paris to use such an expression.

² John Dee's third wife, Jane Fromonds, was a lady of the household of Lord Charles Howard's wife, Lord William's mother. Leland says that both the Cavendish and the Sheffield families belonged to the Isle of Axholme.

matical lecturer, the latter the patron of John Davis the navigator and Emery Molyneux the globe and compass maker. But the enterprise remained in abeyance, and Hakluyt's first years at Wetheringsett were spent in quiet domesticity.¹ His cousin the lawyer died in March 1591, his brother Edmond less than two years later, by which date his eldest brother Thomas was now also dead. Edmond Hakluyt's will² reveals a curious personality not without charm. Written while he was in perfect health, it yet breathes a nostalgia for death, for Edmond had found no dearer objects in life than the cousin and brother who had pre-deceased him, although he could speak tenderly of Richard Hakluyt the preacher. The ring to be given to 'my gentle cousin Vernon at her house' hints at a romance, but this lady cannot be identified. As tutor to William Howard, the Lord High Admiral's son, Edmond had lived at Court, and his wardrobe, which filled three trunks, included satin suits, and two magnificent silk cloaks, one black, the other peach-colour lined with taffeta, which he bestowed on the parson as his executor. He left directions that borrowed books, which he had lent again to a clergyman at Twickenham, were to be returned to their owner or their value made up. Stock held in Ireland was to be realised, and his landed property at Eyton was to go to his brother Richard and his heirs male, or failing them to the issue of his brother Oliver or of his sisters. Thomas had died leaving no son, and Richard was childless when the will was written. Six months later Edmond was dead and Richard came to London to obtain probate of the will in the beginning of February 1593. Oliver was married by this time and had consequently left Christ Church for Eyton, where he founded a family of sons and daughters.

The first traceable return of Richard Hakluyt to his geographical work is in 1594, when at his own request he received

¹ But he found occasion to visit his London friends, and sent through Cole a message to Ortelius referring to his edition of Laudonnière's *Florida*, and asking the great cartographer to publish a map of the region to the north of Mexico. Ortelius replied in August, 1590, that he would gladly do so if Hakluyt would furnish him with material, "*non sine honorifica Domini Haccluti mentione, in ea*". (Hessels, *loc. cit.*, p. 443.)

² Doc. 68, p. 413.

from the ex-Governor John White an account of his last attempt to reach the unhappy Virginia colonists of 1586. Young Sir Robert Dudley at about this time planned a voyage for the South Seas, but being refused permission to sail, took his ships to Trinidad and the West Indies instead. Hakluyt begged him to keep a Journal, and although Dudley declared the voyage to be so common "as it is not worth the registering", he adds: "Neverthelesse, I have yeelded to your former importunity", and his narrative was added to the parson's collection on his return. In May 1594 James Lancaster and his lieutenant Edmund Barker reached home from the pioneer voyage by the Cape to the East Indies. Barker was an Ipswich man, and Hakluyt interviewed him, writing down from his lips the narrative subsequently printed in the *Principal Navigations*. Later on in the same year Hakluyt received through his old friend Emanuel van Meteren a request for his expert opinion on points concerning the north-east passage.¹ Immediately he was full of ardour, for Barker (confirmed by Lancaster) had informed him that the Portuguese had discovered the coast of eastern Asia to 59° N. "giving great hope of the north-east or north-west passage".

Since the disappearance of the Spanish menace, the Dutch had pursued a forward policy as regards overseas expansion, and although they had their own geographical expert in Pastor Peter Plancius, differences of opinion naturally arose. It was the scholarly Governor of Zeeland who wished to consult Hakluyt. He recalled the long-ago debate upon Arctic problems between Gilbert and Jenkinson, with the Queen and Privy Council as audience. He had been reading, too, such writers as John of Plano Carpini, and Abulfeda, and found their interpretation difficult. Hakluyt was very ready² to set out fully all the information he had on the whole question of the Arctic passages, but as to do so would involve a journey from Suffolk to London, and a stay of several weeks, he stipulated first for a suitable fee. Van Meteren, who had watched his career for twenty years, was well aware that no one in England was so fully informed as Hakluyt, and, after spending a day with him discussing the material to be used, he wrote to the Governor to advise com-

¹ Bruner Parks, *loc. cit.* p. 142.

² Doc. 71, p. 418.

pliance with the Englishman's demands. From a phrase that he uses it is possible to infer that the last few years of geographical inactivity had been very grievous to Hakluyt, who saw his former friends and patrons interested only in war and plunder, rather than in discovery and overseas planting. Sir Francis Walsingham, who had been so staunch a supporter of the various American enterprises, had died less than seven months after the publication of the first edition of the *Principal Navigations*, and no great officer of State carried on his policy of expansion.

In his very first letter to his old friend, Hakluyt pledged van Meteren to secrecy, which he declared was of great importance to himself, and it is indeed somewhat surprising to find the ardent English patriot assisting a rival power. Perhaps pique had something to do with it, perhaps the need for money, for it was over a year since the birth of his only son Edmond. Two years later, in 1597, Douglas Hakluyt died,¹ and the widower was set tragically free to absorb himself again in the publication of chronicles of travel and discovery. Once more he is seen to be arranging or encouraging among his friends the publication of translations of foreign voyages to new or little known lands, at this period particularly those of the Dutch², and as was the case in his Paris days he found ready support from the printer John Wolfe, to whom he indicated suitable subjects and introduced competent translators.

In 1598 the idea of peace with Spain and the consequent formulation of a new commercial treaty was under discussion. Some relevant notes, which from internal evidence can be assigned to this year, follow so closely on the lines of certain sections of the still unpublished *Discourse of Western Planting*,

¹ The Parish Registers of Wetheringsett contain entries of the christening of Edmond Hakluyt on June 3, 1593, and the burial of his mother on August 8, 1597.

² Of these the most important was Linschoten's collection of Voyages, rich in practical information about the East Indies and the voyage thither. The translation, by William Philip, was accompanied by the numerous maps and illustrations which beautified the original, the maps being newly engraved by English craftsmen. The contents included a version of Pigafetta's *Relation of Congo*, the translation of which Hakluyt had earlier induced Abraham Hartwell to undertake from the original of 1591. Hartwell was the Archbishop of Canterbury's secretary, and a member of the Society of Antiquaries.

that they may fairly certainly be assigned to Hakluyt.¹ They deal with the limits of the actual occupation of the New World by the Spaniards, as opposed to the extent of their discoveries, and with the general question of the freedom of the seas, while they emphasise the rights of England to the vast area north of 32° lat. "which countries being greater than all Europe, and in goodness nothing inferior thereunto, are by no meanes by us to be given over unto them who have already a great deal more than they can weild". Reference is made to the colony "yet there remaining", a reminder that John White in his recent report to Hakluyt of his visit of 1591 had taken the hopeful view that as he did not find at Roanoke the agreed signal of distress, the colonists had merely moved up country of their own volition.

To draw up such notes as these was a trifling task compared with the labours involved in the preparation of the great new edition of the *Principal Navigations* which Hakluyt's circle of friends now demanded from him. How tedious was the work of searching among the records kept at the Tower of London only those who have worked through uncalendared manuscripts can realise. Bristol archives, too, were not neglected and a nephew of the Robert Thorne of King Henry VIII's days brought out the old account books of the family firm for the prebendary's inspection.

The dedication² of Volume I was to the head of that family to which Hakluyt held himself so deeply beholden, the Howards of Effingham. But not only was the Earl of Nottingham a Howard, and so for personal reasons the fitly chosen patron of a work by a Hakluyt, he was also the victorious admiral of the *Annus Mirabilis*, and so for public reasons the rightful recipient of a work that was essentially England's sea-story. As courtesy demanded, all mention of the earlier edition offered to the late Sir Francis Walsingham was suppressed, nor was the topic of colonisation (an activity in which the earl had played no part) mentioned in the Dedication. But Hakluyt's prefatory epistles were never merely laudatory, they were a means by which he gave publicity to such problems or plans as he deemed of importance. The Lord High Admiral might be expected to interest

¹ Doc. 72, p. 420.

² Doc. 73, p. 426.

himself in the training of seamen, and hence the case for the establishment of a Lectureship in Navigation was once more persuasively put forward by the parson of Wetheringsett, who (although no mathematician himself) had continued to make a most careful study of the Spanish methods of admission and training of pilots and of their Navigating Manuals. The Gresham lectures "some of them...tending to the advancement of Marine causes", and begun in the previous year 1597, are duly mentioned, but something much more practical and directly adapted to seamen's needs was in his mind. There were plenty of men who, like Thomas Hood,¹ gave lessons in the use of charts and instruments for a fee, but as Hood's extant works show, his abilities were not of a high order, and this may be why Hakluyt makes no mention of his mathematical lectures given under Lumley's and Sir T. Smythe's patronage. Fortunately (for although Lord Charles Howard made vague promises he took no active steps in the matter) the brilliant Edward Wright was already at work on the subject even as Hakluyt wrote, and, before another year was out, England ceased to be dependent upon foreign writers for any really able exposition of the science of navigation.²

During the nine years that had elapsed since the publication of the first edition of the *Voyages*, Hakluyt's prose style had altered and become more mannered, more stilted and more ornate. This may be explained by his passage from the prime of manhood to middle age, but also by the changing fashions of the times. A host of neologisms which formerly good taste had barred, most of them words built up from Greek and Latin roots, had now gained currency and even welcome. With the elaboration of vocabulary, style tended also to become more exuberant, and these new trends, carried to a fantastic extreme, had been crystallised and made fashionable by Lyly in his *Euphues*.³ Henceforth twinned adjectives, matched phrases, far-fetched metaphors, rhetorical questions, and a general overload of ornament, bade fair in lesser men's hands to destroy the

¹ E. G. R. Taylor, *Late Tudor and Early Stuart Geography*, p. 78.

² *Ibid.* pp. 73 *et seqq.* See also below, p. 431 n.

³ The first part of *Euphues* was published in 1579, but it takes time for a new style to reach those who are not professional *littérateurs*.

shapely beauty of Elizabethan English. How disastrous it was for Hakluyt to attempt 'fine writing' may be judged by contrasting the opening sentences of his two *Prefaces to the Reader*. "I have thought it very requisite for thy further instruction and direction in this historie (Good Reader) to acquaint thee briefly with the Methode and order which I have used in the whole course thereof: and by the way also to let thee understand by whose friendly aide in this my travel I have been furthered...." Thus in musical and limpid prose he wrote in 1589 but in 1598 we read: "Having for the *benefit* and *honour* of my Country, zealously bestowed so many yeres, so much *traveile* and *cost*, to bring Antiquities *smothered* and *buried* in darke silence, to light, and to preserve certaine memorable exploits of late yeeeres by our English nation atchieved, from the *greedy* and *devouring* jawes of oblivion: to *gather* likewise and as it were to *incorporate* into one body, the *torn* and *scattered* limmes of our ancient and late Navigations by Sea, our voyages by land, and traffiques of merchandize by both: and having (so much as in me lieth) restored ech particular member, being before displaced, to their true *joints* and *ligaments*..." and so on for half a dozen lines more before he brings his laboriously turned euphuistic sentence to a close. 'Reputation', 'inauguration', 'surcease', 'alacrity', 'ambiguous', 'pertinent', 'unaffected', 'provident', 'profound', 'achieved', 'munificent', 'magnanimity', 'intercept', 'epiphonema', are but a handful of examples of the new words or new usages of then rare words which Hakluyt employed in his later writings. He even thought it necessary to apologise for the 'harsh and *unaffected* style' and the 'unpolished' manner of the writer of the *Libell of English Policie*, a work which his excellent geographical judgment led him to praise, and to include in his collection after (as he claims) a careful collation of the several manuscript versions.¹ Nevertheless when he loses himself in the eager narration of events, his own style becomes once more, if not quite 'unaffected', yet virile and musical as though he is now substituting Sidney for Lyly as his model: "Then were they to saile by the ragged and perilous coast of Norway, to frequent the unhaunted shoares of Finmarke, to

¹ By modern standards of scholarship Hakluyt's version is a poor one.

double the dreadfull and misty North Cape, to beare with Willoughbies land, to run along within kenning of the countreys of Lapland and Corelia, and as it were to open and unlocke the sevenfold mouth of Dwina." Such passages of pure poetry seem to flow from Hakluyt's pen almost unawares, and when he forgets to clothe them in Latinisms his antitheses and his imaginative metaphors charm us by their surprise. How vivid is the picture of the fleeing Lathyrus "valing down the Arabian bay" and of the humiliation of the Spanish flotilla when Lord Charles Howard "enforced them to stoope gallant and to vaile their bonets for the Queene". The charm of paired phrases is seen in: "Suppose that Columbus . . . escried unknowen lands", "did not Sir Hugh Willoughby . . . accoast Nova Zembla?" Or again: "Our English nation", he says of the Dutch explorers, "led them the dance, brake the yce before them, and gave them good leave to light their candle at our torch".¹

When he wrote his Dedication² to Lord Charles Howard in October 1598, Hakluyt planned to have the second and third volumes published in the following spring. But his patron apparently failed to obtain for him the material assistance for which he had hoped, and it was not until October came round again that the second part of the collection was ready, and, as Volume II, was offered not to the Lord Admiral but to Sir Robert Cecil, Secretary of State.³ Hakluyt was, of course, well known to Cecil, who had consulted him in the summer that his wife died about the aptitude of Guiana for English settlement. This was no doubt on the occasion of the return, in June 1597, of Raleigh's third expedition commanded by Captain Berry, which arrived in England when Raleigh himself was away in the Azores with Essex. Cecil was no friend to Raleigh's colonising schemes,⁴ but he carefully weighed all the pros and cons, and his exact knowledge of America was a matter of surprise to Hakluyt. The Secretary had subsequently, as it appears, by his "favourable letters written in my behalfe" furthered Hakluyt's material interests, and the phrase probably

¹ The satirical meaning of 'leading someone a dance' had not yet appeared.

² Doc. 73, p. 427.

³ Doc. 76, p. 453.

⁴ But he had given Raleigh some financial support in 1595, and the *Discovery of Guiana* (1596) was addressed jointly to Admiral Lord Howard and Cecil.

refers to efforts to obtain for him some church preferment. A month after the second Dedication was written, Hakluyt was granted, at Cecil's request, the next reversion of a chaplaincy of the Savoy, and in the following May he was recommended by the Privy Council to a London living likely soon to fall vacant. The reason given for this recommendation was that his services in the matter of discovery were valuable, and it was desirable to provide him with a residence in London. The living did not fall vacant, but at the end of August Hakluyt became unexpectedly assured of a far more important position in the capital. Some time since, Lord Admiral Howard and Cecil had jointly recommended the Queen to grant him the next vacant prebend at Westminster. She had decidedly refused, and, when Hakluyt had given up all thought of the matter, had as suddenly changed her mind. Four days after this alteration in his prospects the Dedication to Cecil of Volume III was written.¹

Both the epistles to the Secretary of State are cautiously worded, for these were days when it was easy to give cause of offence. Nevertheless, it is clear that Hakluyt's heart was still set on two projects, the colonisation of Virginia and the improvement of the training of pilots and seamen. As a sincere Christian, war must have been hateful to him, and still more hateful the current argument that peace was not desirable because it would throw so many active young men out of employment. "There is under our noses [he wrote] the great and ample country of Virginia", where "the superfluitie of every profession in this realme" might find room. Such was his unalterable conviction, although it is clear that he had now no real hope of the survival of Raleigh's second colony, unheard of for over twelve years.

8. A CLERICAL DIGNITARY

John Pory's *Africa* was ready for publication rather more than two months after the completion of the *Principal Navigations*, and, as it was intended to be a 'large illustration' of the more general work, it was dedicated likewise to Robert Cecil.² If

¹ Doc. 79, p. 469.

² Doc. 80, p. 475.

Hakluyt had hoped that Pory (whom he had been training since the year his wife died) would take his place as national geographical adviser and leave him free to devote himself to clerical and domestic duties, he was to be disappointed, for the younger man wrote no more.¹

In the autumn of 1599 schemes for the establishment of an East India trade were well advanced, when renewed plans for peace with Spain made them appear untimely to the Queen's advisers. A document² was drawn up on behalf of the disappointed promoters, and for the assistance of the Commissioners for the Peace Treaty, which set out the areas in the East to which Spain could have no possible claim, and which cited such a wealth of authorities as only Hakluyt is known to have had at his fingers' ends. The document resembles in several particulars that drawn up two years earlier regarding the West Indies, and while neither is in Hakluyt's handwriting, nor in all probability finally worded by him, there seem to be conclusive proofs of his authorship. The English translation of Galvano's *History of Discovery*, for example, is mentioned, although at this date it existed only as a manuscript in Hakluyt's hands; so too, the name of the author of the *Description of China*, Duarte Sande, is here given for the first time. Hakluyt had translated this *Description* from the precious Portuguese original which had been one of the spoils from the *Madre de Dios*, but he had printed this translation in the *Principal Navigations* without assigning the authorship to Sande. All the geographical materials (including maps) obtained from this prize were handed over to Hakluyt, and they included the Register of the East Indies also mentioned in the Notes of which the provenance is under discussion.³

The East India Company's Charter was finally obtained on December 30, 1600, and within a month Hakluyt was reading

¹ He went into Parliament, and twenty years later, to the American colonies.

² Doc. 78, p. 465.

³ Sir John Burrough took the *Madre de Dios* in the Azores in 1592. The writer of an account of the action says that by the capture the English gained "the broad light of full and perfect knowledge" of "those secret trades and Indian riches, which hitherto lay strangely hidden" (*Principal Navigations*, VII, p. 105). For Duarte Sande, see A. Cortesão, *loc. cit.* p. 162.

to the Committees his *Advices* of which the written Notes (completed subsequently) are extant.¹ The Court Minute relating to the payment made for these services (which included the provision of maps²) refers also to assistance which the parson had given in the previous year, doubtless in drawing up the document already discussed.

The annotation of the anonymous English manuscript version of Galvano, and its publication in 1601, seems to have been undertaken by Hakluyt as a compliment to Cecil, whom he named in the Dedication as the only patron who had rewarded his cosmographical labours.³ The Secretary of State had in fact appointed him to be one of his own chaplains, pending the falling in of the promised reversions. Within six months, however, the new prebend sat in his stall at Westminster,⁴ and within a further two years he was enjoying a chaplaincy of the Savoy. In March 1604 he married a comfortable widow of about his own age, and henceforth played a less active part in affairs outside his profession. By this time little Edmond Hakluyt was about eleven years old, and a scholar at his father's old school.

The year 1602, however, had seen a renewal of interest in Virginia, and his late cousin's *Inducements*, prepared for the Old Colonists, were added, no doubt at Hakluyt's instance, to a little volume of propaganda narratives and essays that appeared towards the end of that year.⁵ In the New Year he went down to Bristol, to induce his friends there to assist matters by sending an expedition to North Virginia, and, at their request, he visited Sir Walter Raleigh (accompanied by two of Captain Gosnold's men) in order to be able to assure them that the

¹ Doc. 81, p. 476.

² One of these was an Italian map taken from the great carrack *Madre de Dios* referred to above.

³ Doc. 82, p. 483.

⁴ He was Archdeacon for the year 1603-4.

⁵ Dr Fulmer Mood (*New England Hist. and Gen. Register*, Vol. 83) has shown that Gosnold whose voyage is recorded, and Brereton under whose name the work appeared, were Suffolk men, and county neighbours of Hakluyt's. He is thus linked indirectly with the activities of 1602, as well as directly with those of 1603. The year 1602 also saw a renewal of the search for the North-west Passage, led by Captain George Waymouth, who was subsequently employed (1605) on a Virginia voyage. The two enterprises, for a Passage and a Colony, are not to be separated, for they were not separable in Hakluyt's view.

latter's original patent was not being infringed, for Raleigh had lodged a complaint with regard to the voyage of 1602. A few days before the ship from Bristol sailed, the Queen had died. On the accession of James I, the negotiations for peace with Spain were again opened, and this time brought to a successful conclusion. It was in this connexion that a note was prepared, on the general lines of that made in the year 1600, setting out the places in the East Indies where the Portuguese had settled, and those with which they had nothing to do.¹ This note may merely have been drawn up by some clerk from Hakluyt's earlier ones, but equally it may have been his own.

Hakluyt continued to add to his collection of geographical manuscripts all his life, for each glimpse we have of him in his later years reveals that navigation and navigators were still his chief preoccupation. Once the breach with Spain was healed he had fresh opportunities for international friendships of the kind that had so delighted him and proved so fruitful in Paris. The old Portuguese pilot Simon Fernandez was back in England, and related to the parson the story of a recent voyage from Peru to Solomon's Islands while he was sitting in the midst of an interested circle of Portuguese friends. He had conversations in the Spanish Ambassador's house with Luis Tribaldo, and these, like his subsequent correspondence with the same gentleman, turned chiefly on the South Seas, which Quiros' *Memorials* had made an absorbing topic.

Nevertheless, he remained true to Virginia as holding (if colonised) the key to English problems, and when the Virginia Company was chartered in 1606, Hakluyt's name was in the list of the patentees. He even obtained a dispensation which permitted him to go out himself to America and become if he chose a clerical dignitary in the proposed colony without relinquishing his four English preferments (for he appears not to have been actually inducted to the London living sought for him in 1600). Wisely enough, he did not go, for he was four and fifty years old, but doubtless he had some part and some pleasure in drawing up the *Instructions by way of Advice* prepared by the Council for the first colonists.² His great knowledge and

¹ Doc. 84, p. 487.

² Doc. 87, p. 492.

experience formed too valuable an asset to be neglected, but there is no direct evidence on the point.

The year 1608 had been marked by the dispute between the United Provinces and the King of Spain concerning the right of other nationals to trade in East India. A pamphlet published on the subject in London in March was suppressed at the instance of the Spanish Ambassador,¹ but in April 1609 a treaty was concluded between the parties and still later in the year the brilliant young Dutch jurist, Hugo Grotius, published his famous tract entitled *Mare Liberum*. This work so delighted Hakluyt, who had long urged on the English behalf its doctrine of *Lex naturae*, that he rendered it into his mother tongue.² But the growing Anglo-Dutch trade rivalries were giving a new turn to English ideas of freedom of the seas and the translation (which was not accompanied by any notes or comments) never went to press.

Only one further piece of Hakluyt's writing (apart from his will) has survived: the Dedication of his translation of de Soto under the title *Virginia richly Valued*.³ It reveals him steadfast as ever in his belief in the wide potentialities of the New World, careful as ever to give chapter and verse for his beliefs. A short time before he wrote he had been listening to his old friend Thomas Hariot putting before the Council of Virginia certain conclusions as to America's resources which could be drawn from the experiences of the Old Colony. A few days later the Rev. Wm. Symonds was preaching a farewell sermon to a new batch of colonists. In May they left the Channel and in the same month Hakluyt took up shares in the Company under its second charter.

At long last Virginia had been finally and successfully launched: so too had England's Far Eastern trade. The work now to be

¹ This pamphlet was entered in the Stationers' Register (*Arber's Transcript*) on March 5, 1608, as follows: "A Declaracon of the proceedings of the Peace nowe intreatinge of betweene the kinge of Spaine and Th'archduke and the generall estates of the United Provinces. With an abstract of Diverse reasons and arguments aleged by the Netherlands to prove that the Generall States ought not by any meanes to grant unto the Discontinuanee of their trade and traffique with the East Indies."

² A specimen of Hakluyt's translation is given in Doc. 88, p. 497.

³ Doc. 89, p. 499.

done was not that of literary propaganda, but of wise administration. Meanwhile a certain Samuel Purchas was already engaged, as a humble admirer and imitator of Hakluyt, in collecting geographical histories, relations and references to delight a new generation with changed tastes and views. But the elder man had not quite ceased work. At the first inception of the East India Company, the promoters had thought it wise to bear in mind the possibility of a shorter and safer way thither by the Arctic. Hakluyt had then¹ (*i.e.* in 1601) offered them the fruits of twenty years' study of the Arctic Passage problem, his notes going back to the days when he wrote to Mercator about the voyage of Pet and Jackman. To these twenty years' observations he had now added yet another ten, for from Josias Logan's letters² to him in 1611, it is clear that he was still arranging to receive information about the north Siberian shores and rivers. The rival views of John Dee and Mercator had not yet been resolved, and Hakluyt's interest was unabated.

Much more important than Logan's letters were the reports of Hudson's last voyage which came into Hakluyt's hands the same year. The discovery of Hudson's Bay naturally revived the hopes of a sea-way through it to Cathay, and Hakluyt became a Charter member of the new North-west Passage Company which was incorporated in 1612. Sir Dudley Digges, son of John Dee's old friend Thomas, was a leading figure in this enterprise, but it was Sir Thomas Smythe's house that was the scene of geographical consultations and the centre and clearing-house for information of every sort, whether it dealt with the north, south, east or west. Hither Hakluyt brought a piece of work that he thought might prove of practical use,³ an English rendering of a *Conversation Manual* originally written by a Dutchman for use in the East Indies. The Dutch sentences had been turned into Latin by Gothard Arthus, and in this form the dialogues were published in the *Grand Voyages* of De Bry. Hakluyt translated the Latin into idiomatic English, and when Sir Thomas Smythe received his version he turned it over for revision to an East India merchant who had a dozen years' experience behind him. Consequently, when the English-

¹ Doc. 81, p. 482.

² Doc. 90, p. 504.

³ See also p. 510, *n.* 1.

Malayan *Dialogues* appeared in 1614, they bore the name of this merchant, Augustine Spalding.¹ They make entertaining reading. The conversation describing a supper party for example gives a delightfully intimate and touching picture of a Dutch interior of the period, but it is difficult to imagine that it could be of much use to a factor in the Far East.

Of the closing years of Hakluyt's life our knowledge is very scanty. In 1611 his son Edmond was elected to a studentship at Trinity College, Cambridge (as over forty years earlier his uncle Thomas had been), and the next year Richard himself was presented to the living of Gedney in Lincolnshire by his brother Oliver. This was the year in which he made his will,² most probably on some threat of serious illness. In it he left a trifling sum to Michael Lok the younger, son of his dead friend, whom in the same year he had induced to prepare and publish an English translation of his own edition of Peter Martyr's *Decades*, first published a quarter of a century earlier.

It was in November 1612 that Purchas's *Pilgrimage* had first made its appearance, a work well calculated to delight Hakluyt, who made himself known to the author and took a grave pleasure in displaying his treasures in the shape of maps, manuscripts, pictures and curios to the new recruit to historical geography. As Purchas understood it, he was eventually to possess all this wealth of material, and edit it in Hakluyt's stead. The elder man possibly intended to add a codicil to his will, but in the year of his death, either through some misunderstanding, or through some irritability of Hakluyt's over the sudden popularity of his successor, the two men were estranged. Hence, although *Hakluytus Posthumus* at length saw the light, it was only after Purchas had been at great pains and gone to some expense to secure the precious manuscripts. This is not difficult to understand. Edmond Hakluyt was barely twenty-three when his father died, and had no interest in discovery: nor had his stepmother. They therefore naturally regarded only the pecuniary value of the manuscripts. It must be looked upon as fortunate that so much that might have been irremediably lost was in fact preserved

¹ Doc. 92, p. 510.

² Doc. 91, p. 506.

for posterity by the pertinacity and devotion of Samuel Purchas. For this his faults as editor can be forgiven, the more so as his labours shortened his life.

Of Hakluyt's character we can form at least some estimate. Bred up at Oxford on Aristotle, he was not an original thinker, and neither scientific problems nor philosophical speculations appealed to him. Yet, because the geography and cosmography of a New World afforded a stimulus both to the imagination and the intellect, Hakluyt was welcomed and admired in two of the most famous coteries of his day, though a member of neither. Sir Philip Sidney and Sir Edward Dyer, who gathered their fellow poets about them, were among his earliest patrons, while Sir Walter Raleigh and Thomas Hariot, whose daring speculations invited the darkest suspicions of the conservative and ignorant, were his intimate friends. To such men Hakluyt must have seemed a little old-fashioned. He was plain and practical, loving his Queen, his country, his Church and his fellow-men just as he found them.¹ But he had a passion for the truth, for collecting and sifting evidence, and for presenting it without distortion. This lent him distinction above his fellows. It is perhaps to his early association with his cousin the lawyer that we may trace that insistence on giving the *ipsissima verba* of his witnesses and authorities which prevented him from writing a *History of Discovery* or a *Cosmography* in his own words. His university training in logic and formal disputation influenced him in the same direction, and he was early familiar with the minute documentary analysis by which a Mercator or a John Dee sought to deduce the trend of a coast or the existence of a strait. The single long *Discourse* of 1584 remains to show what he might have accomplished as an original writer, but as the event has proved, his care to give the reader only exact transcripts of documents and records of first-hand statements has proved infinitely precious to later historians.

A winning and persuasive manner must have been among his gifts, for he was as successful in his interrogations of returned

¹ Hakluyt appears to have been sincere in his religious convictions, but he was no puritan, just as he was no idealist. He saw no incongruity in a Church organised to subserve the interests of the State.

travellers as in his fruitful interviews with business men. It is permissible to believe that the affectionate respect of three practical seamen prompted the naming of Hakluyt's Headland, Mount Hakluyt, and Hakluyt Island by Hudson, Fotherby and Baffin respectively. It was only his due, for he was importunate in their interests.

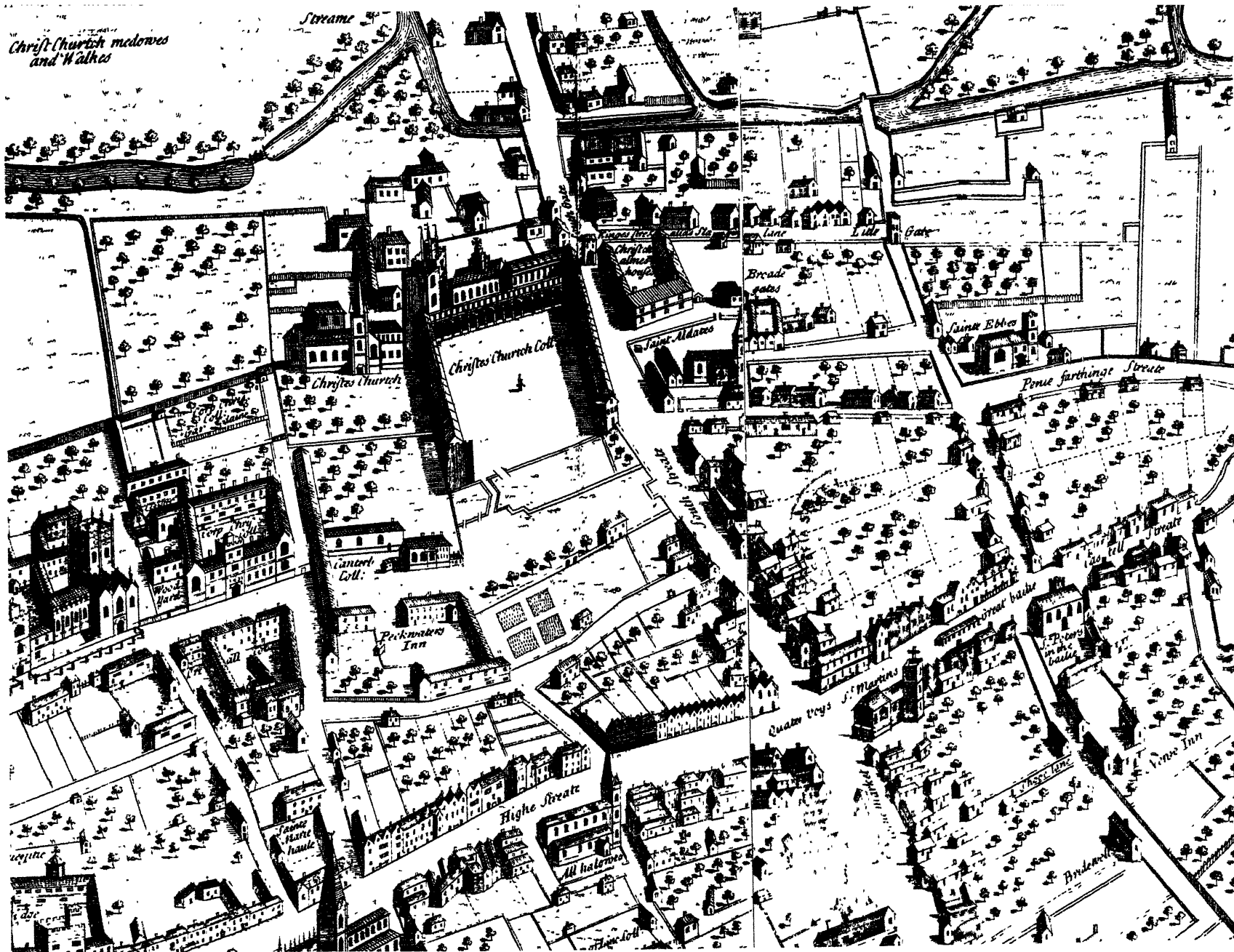
Hakluyt continued to make Wetheringsett his home from time to time, and carried out his duties there down to his death. But this cure of souls was not a large one, and he was also able to maintain (and presumably use) his chambers in Bristol, at the Savoy, and in Westminster.¹ It was in London that he died. In William Camden's notes upon the reign of James I we read: "1616, Nov. 23. *Richardus Hakluyt, Prebendarius Westmonasterius obiit.*" A scholar of Westminster School, he was buried in Westminster Abbey where as a boy he had worshipped. But his grave is unknown, his works are his sole monument.²

¹ The Parish Registers of Wetheringsett show an average of nine burials, fourteen christenings and four weddings annually during Hakluyt's incumbency. He kept a curate, as is proved by the registration of the burial of Antonie Harvey, the holder of this office, in 1608. It may be assumed, perhaps, that he resided in London during term, for he boarded a few of the scholars attending Westminster School (Bruner Parks, *op. cit.*).

² Gabriel Harvey wrote on the margin of his copy of Quintilian: "*Tria viuidissima Britannorum ingenia, Chaucerus, Morus, Juellus. Quibus addo tres florentissimas indoles, Heiuodum, Sidneum, Spencerum. Qui quaerit illustriora Anglorum ingenia, inueniet obscuriora. Perpaucos excipio; eorumque primos, Smithum, Aschamum, Vilsonum; Diggesium, Blundeulum, Haclutium, mea corcula—Digges, Blundeville, Hakluyt, my dear hearts!*"

DOCUMENTS

I-45



Christ Church meadows
and Walkes

Streame

Christes Church

Christes Church Coll.

Christes Coll.

Peckmores Inn

High Street

All halles

Saint Aldates

Broadgate

Gate

Saint Ebbes

Powse farthinge Street

Quaker Voeys

Saint Martins

Over barke

Doctors in the hall

Vine Inn

Chase lane

Brick lane

Document 1

WILL OF RICHARD HAKLUYT, Skinner

31 March 1557

IN THE NAME OF GOD AMEN. The last daye of Marche in the yere of our Lorde God a thousand five hundreth fiftie and seaven, and in the thirde & fourthe yeres of the Reigne of our soveraigne Lord and Ladye Phillip and Marie by the grace of god Kinge and Quene of Englande Spayne Fraunce both Cicilles Jerusalem and Ireland, defendors of the faith, Archdukes of Austriche, Dukes of Burgundie Millayne and Brabant, Counties of Haspurge Flaunders and Tiroll. I Richard Hackett Citizen and Skynner of London dwelling within the Parishe of St. Augustines at the lower ende of thold chaunge at Paules gate within the Citie of London being sicke in bodie with the visitation of almightie god that notwithstanding I am in good and parfyt mynde and memorie lawde and prayse be unto Almightye God, make declare and ordeyne this my presente testament and last will in manner & forme followinge (that is to saye) First and principally I do commend my soule into the handes of Almightye god my maker redeemer and onelie Savyor in whome and by the meretts of whose blessed passion I do verilie beleave to have free and clere remission and forgiveness of all my synnes which I have done and commytted againste god, either in worde thought or dede. And I will my bodie to be buried in the paryshe church of saynt Augustines aforesaid so nere unto the litell pulpitt in the same churche as maye conveniently be. Item I give and bequethe to the high Aulter of the same church for my tithes and oblacions by me negligently forgotten (yf any such be) iijs. iiijd. Item I give and bequeathe unto my Cosyn Richard Hackett xls. in money. The residue of all my goodes moveable and unmoveable debts and other thinges whatsoever yt be or wheresoever it may be founde or knowen, my debts which I doe owe of right and justice first truelie and fullie contentyd satisfied and paid, and theis my legacies done and

parformed and my bodie honestlie buried my funeralls discharged. I will and my verie mynde ys, it shalbe equally devyded into three equall partes according to the lawdable custome of the Citie of London (that is to saye one parte to my self, another to Margerie Hackelett my welbeloved wief And the thirde parte to be devyded amongst my children, parte and porcion lyke and every one of my childern to be others heyre) And I make of this my present testament and last will my said wief Margerie my sole executer desiring her to do for me deedes of pitie and charitie as she wolde I shulde for her (yf she were in case lyke). And I will and desire my said cosen Richard Hackelett to be overseer of this my presente testamente and last will, willing hym alwayes to be aydinge assisting and comfortinge of my said Executrix. And I give hym for his paynes therein taken the xls. above wrytten. Item. I will that according to my brother Sir Walter Hackeletts will and testament soche money be bestowed upon the poore and otherwyse at Oxforde as his will and testament purporteth at large. Amowntinge to the some of vijli, that ys to saye, to the poore in the parishe of St. Tolle vis. viijd. and to a priest of Brodegates¹ fyve markes for one yere and fyve markes for another yere to preche goddes worde and to praye for all christen soules. And I do utterlye revoke and disannull all and every former testaments wills legacies executors and Overseers by me before this tyme in anywise willed given or bequeathed. And I make and ordeyne this to be my verie last will and testament and none other but this onely. In wytnes whereof I the said Richard Hackelett to this my last will and testament have put my hande and seale the daye and yeare first above wrytten. Thes being witnesses and testes of the same, that is to saye, sealed signed and knowledged to be his last will and testament in the presente of John Thatcher Willyam Burde Thomas Pope Merchant Taylors and Robert Davison Scryvener Citizens of London.

[Probate granted before Dr Wm. Cooke 27 May 1557 to Margerie Hacklett.]

¹ Broadgates was a Hall of Residence at Oxford.

Document 2

EXTRACTS FROM CAMDEN'S *ANNALS*, 1560-1563

The Abby also of Westminster . . . she [Elizabeth] converted to a Collegiate Church: and there she instituted to the glory of God, and increase of good literature, a Deane, twelve Prebendaries, a Schoole-master, an Usher, forty Schollers (called the Queenes Schollers, whereof sixe or more, are preferred every yeere to the Universities¹), Ministers, Singing-men, twelve Almes-men, etc. and this certainly with happy increase of learned men both for the Church and Common-wealth. . . . (1560.)

Now was Shan O'Neal come out of Ireland . . . with a Guard of Ax-bearing Galloglasses, bare-headed, with curled haire hanging downe, yellow surplices dyed with saffron, or mans stale, long sleeves, short coates, and hairy mantles: whom the English people gazed at with no lesse admiration than now a dayes they doe them of China & America. (1562.)

In the meane time, the French hostages which were sent into England for five hundred thousand Crownes for restoring of Calice, when they saw all things tend to warre, made preparation for their flying away, but when they were ready to take shipping, they were brought back againe, together with John Ribauld that famous pilot, who was come secretly into England to convey them away. . . . From this time the Spaniard was more incensed against the English, taking occasion for that the English pirates invested² the French upon the coastes of Spaine, and intended to set forth a voyage into West India.³ (1563.)

¹ Richard Hakluyt and his two brothers, Thomas and Oliver, were of this number. Richard and Oliver were awarded studentships at Christ Church, Oxford, while Thomas went up to Trinity College, Cambridge, removing subsequently to the sister University, where he died.

² *I.e.* attacked (O.E.D.).

³ These extracts are chosen as illustrating the atmosphere of England when the elder Hakluyt was making his way as a lawyer, and the younger was a Westminster boy. Jean Ribault's visit to England took place between his two colonising voyages to Florida. The Queen gave the subsequently notorious Thomas Stukeley a patent to plant English colonists on the River of May beside the Frenchmen: fortunately his party never reached America and so escaped massacre at the hands of the Spaniards. Yearly voyages to the West Indies were, however, now made by Hawkins, Lovell, Drake and others.

Document 3

LETTER FROM ROGER BODENHAM¹

31 August 1566

To the worshipfull Mr. ANTHONY PENNE, gentleman, be thies delyvered. (Recd. 19 Octr. 1566.)

What awaylithe [availeth] dilligens, labor or pollicie of man, yef it be not derected by godes will all is vayne. Hit is most surtayne that man may purpos but god doth despose. As now hit hath pleezed god to deale wth me and torne all my Joye in too sorow, in sowche wize as wth owt dowght yf he send me not paycons too suffer it, I am not able to bare it. I am sarten or this come to yo^r handes ye have harde of my great misfortune. I wolde have wreten you of hit lounge or this, but that by no meanes I cowlde sete my penne to the paper, and now god knowes how I doe it and wth what payne, onlie bycawse I wil satisfye yowe howe it paste. The 29 daye of July, in the morning before daye at the cape sanct marye, being the coast of portugall, not past xxv leagues from Sainct Lucars or Cadix whether I was bownde, even at home at myne owne dores, being calme wth owt brethe of wynd, I was besett wth seven gallies of towrkes of argell.² And all thowghe the matche was too moche for me, being so few men as I had wth mee, yet I put my selfe in order. And fought wth them frome the morning tyll noon, in the w^{ch} fyght manye of my men were slayne, and all the reste sore hurte, soe that by no meanis we cowlde make any farther defens. And soe we wer all taken and striped nakyd, and put in too the gallis, the shippe soe beaton that I feare me shee sonke, for after the torkes had taken owt of her what they wolde, they left her driving in the see. In the serche of hir I can not fynd hir. The nexte daye after I was taken, the torkes went too Cadix, and there made sale of sarten [of us] to the number of a tenne persons, a mounge the w^{ch} I was one, and p^d for my bodye seven hunderd duckatts, w^{ch} a ffriend of myne layd owt for me, and how I shall paye it

¹ For the occasion of this letter, see *supra*, p. 9.

² Turks of Algiers.

ageyne god knowis. All the reste he caryed away in sorrowfull captyvete, and the greatyste greaffe that I have, one of them is the small remedy that I fynde for there redemtion. The worste of them will not be redymed wth 300 ds. God send the remedye. The daye before I was taken the same torkes toke iij shippes that came out of thindias, with above 3 C thousand docattes, and manye men, women and childern, and were in one companye xxij shippes laden wth the kinges provizion, and more iijj lisbayne shippes, and iijj hulkes that came owt of fflaunders, and wth divers others. The lyke was never sene in thies partes nor harde of, nor I think wilbe ageyne. This notwithstandinge, if the shippe doe come to my handes as I hope she shal, yf she be not sonke, yf god be pleased I maye make a vyage wth her I dare saye that I will save the princypall of all mens partes, but and she be gone there is no remedy.

Whether Water¹ be alve or deade I knowe not. God helpe them all. For sartenly how moche this grevis me, I am not able to expres. I praye you let me heare from yow and the lorde send you^r hilthe.

from Seville the laste of Auguste A^o. 1566

by yo^r sorrowfull

Roger Bodenham

Hit was never sene nor harde that the torkes dyd enye soche thyng in thies partes. Wherefore all men were owt of dowght of any sowche mater and dyd not mystrust any sowche thyng. Heare is many a hevy harte, for it hath done moche harme in this citty, the takyng of the iij shippes that came out of thindias. And dayly they loke for the flett to come from thens and the torkes be heare tarieing for them.²

¹ Presumably Walter Penn, to whose father Bodenham is writing.

² This letter is printed as showing how perilous had become the position of merchant shipping in waters infested by Turkish and Algerine pirates. Sixteen years earlier, Bodenham had been captain of the last English ship for a generation to make the Levant voyage to Chios. At the time of writing, he enjoyed the confidence alike of the Spanish and the English authorities, and there is little doubt that he acted as a spy for both.

Document 4

LETTER FROM LEONARD CHILTON

5 July 1567

LEONARD CHILTON to HENRY HAWKS: Jesus, the v of July, an^o. 1567 in Cales [Cadiz].

Worshipfull after my ryght harty comendacyons, yo^r helthe wth contentt desyred and the plezure of God etc. — dayes past I herd by the waye of Syvell of yo^r saffe aryval in the palma, w^{ch} I was glad to here of and doo truste in God or yt be longe, to here of yo^r safe aryvall also in the Nova Espanya, w^{ch} I shall thinke longe to here of. After your departing I went to Sentlucars, where I found yo^r bedfellowe sycke, but now is well thanks be unto God, and is in Thomas Walles house mery, as I am sewere you shall have lettars by this flete. As also yo^r brother Edward goes in wone of the shipes at Sentay lucars, of whome you may be informed of things nedeful.

This weeke paste yor ffrend Valde Ramees was here, and dyned at my howse at the request of Robard Harvy, who saythe that for the spase of one yere he will bere wth you, butt afterwards yf yo^w do not remember him wth somewhat, he will seeke you thowghe it be to the worlds ende, as he saythe. Yowre ffrend John Frampton is at a pownt with all his credytors, howe to paye them in thre yeres and thre months. Umfreye Rickthorne came hether twyse, and thowt to have bound beares,¹ butt he was ffayne to do what Seroudo would have him do, and reseves the moste parte of the dett there upon Mr. Tiptons aventar [adventure].

This yere, thanks be unto God, we have no ffere of the Tork and More, ffor that the coste is well kepte with the galles esspayña and Italia, and at this present John Andrea Dorya is here with 34 galles, and hath don myche good upon the coste, as you shall here of other.

¹ I have been unable to elucidate this idiom (*Editor*).

Newes out of Ingland I have not to wryte you, butt that all is in good pese and quyetnes, and an Imbasytor loked ffor, who I suppose be there or this, ffrom the emperador, to have his brother to marrye wth the queenes Majestye, w^{ch} many thinke will take place.

The mattars of Flandars are stablyshed, God be praysed there fore, in a maner as the Kings majestye of esspayne wold have yt, yet yf his Majestye go not thether himselffe, I fferre me it will not rest so. The sayinge was that the Docke of Alva was upon Geneva wth his campe, butt yt is not so. Here is grete pre-parasyon still for wares, som sayethe for one place, and som ffor another. I suppose they will give a sawyte [an assault] upon Argel.¹ God give his Majestye² good succes and vycторыe.

I praye you yf you tary there any tyme, to wryte me from tyme to tyme of yor helthe and prosedings, and how all our ffrends dothe there and howe they prosper, and there menyngs as nere as you maye towching ther comyng ffor espayne. Here of I praye yo^w to ffayle [not] and to be a mene that my brother Robard Swyting have more remembrance of his parents than he hath had. Also I praye you lett my brother Andres have yo^r good consell, and to be his ffriend in that you maye, as I knowe yo^w ar. I do not wrytt unto him till I here of his aryvall ther, therffore I praye you lett this suffyse unto him for the present. Here with I do wrytte unto my brother Robard Swything, and to our ould ffriend Rafe Sare, and to John Umpton,³ to the w^{ch} do reffar me.

¹ Algiers.

² Philip II.

³ There is a strong possibility that this man was that Juan de Anton whom Drake took prisoner and fraternised with in 1579. In English documents concerning this adventure Anton is called John Ampton. This letter illustrates the intimate relations preserved among the Anglo-Spanish merchants who were to be found both in Spain and Mexico (New Spain). Henry Hawks, who had left for New Spain *via* the Canaries in 1567, was known to the Spaniards as Pero Sanchez. Robert Sweeting, Chilton's brother-in-law, was a son of John Sweeting, by his Spanish wife. He later proved a good friend to Miles Philip and his companions who were left in New Mexico by Hawkins. John Sweeting was one of the English merchants living in Spain in 1538, and spent part of his life in Mexico. John Frampton was a Bristol man, who after his retirement contributed an important series of translations to the cause of English expansion. Henry Hawks, John Chilton (Leonard's brother), Roger Bodenham, and Robert Tomson (also Bristol bred and a friend of Hawks and the Sweetings) all contributed information to the Hakluyts which was eventually published in the *Principal Navigations*.

All yo^r ffrriends here and in Sent Locars ar hethe [healthy], thank be unto God, and here we have us all [co]mended unto you, and thus ffor the present I sease, and do rest allways att your comaundymment.

I am wrytten ffrom Corte that Roger Bodnam is apoynted by the Kinges Majestie to goe for the nova esspaine, and from thens to be one of the fyve that his Majestie has apoynted to go ffor the chyna.¹ As yet I have res^d. no letter from Roger Bodnam thereof, butt do locke every daye ffor [one] ffrom him, to whom it maye plese god to give so good suceses as I desyre.

Leonard Chilton

Document 5

EXTRACTS FROM CAMDEN'S *ANNALS*, 1567

About this time there came into England Stephen Twerdico and Theodor Pogorella, from that most potent Emperour John Basilides,² Emprour of Russia & Muscovia, with rich furies of Sables, Lusers and others, which at that time and in former ages were in great request among the English, both for ornament and wholesomenesse. . . .

With these Russian Ambassadors returned into England Anthony Jenkinson, who tooke a most exact survey of Russia, described it in a Geographically map,³ and was the first Englishman that sayled on the Caspian Sea, and pierced to the Bactrians.

¹ The Philippines, to which the Pacific route had been opened in 1564-5.

² Ivan the Terrible.

³ According to Ortelius' *Catalogue of Authors* this map was dedicated to Sir Henry Sidney (patron of Richard Chancellor) and published in 1562. George Best wrote in 1578: "Master Anthony Jenkinson made thereof a platt with the first particular description I have seen of the whole country of Moscovia, which is yet extant "

Document 6

EXTRACT FROM THE *CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS*, 1568

GUZMAN DE SILVA to PHILIP OF SPAIN. London 3 Jan. 1568.
[The Queen] said she longed for the time of your Majesty's voyage, in the hope that she might see you, although she did not think you would recognize her as she is changed so much and become so thin. I thanked her from your Majesty for forbidding Hawkins and the rest of those who are going to Guinea from proceeding to your Majesty's Indies¹ and assured her with all possible emphasis how much importance you attached to this proof of her regard, in order to fix her more firmly. She made me great promises about it, and said she would cut off Hawkins' head if he exceeded by one tittle the orders that had been given to him, and would punish his associates as well.

Document 7

LETTER FROM RICHARD HAKLUYT, Lawyer² 1567-8 (*circ.*)

DOMINO ORTELIO cosmographo, in Flandria

Nota Domino Ortelio cosmographo pro majori explanacione
Tabule annexe etc.

Quoniam pleraque hominum aedificia intus aut non adeo
spaciosa sunt aut tam lucida ut amplam in his cosmographiae

¹ Hawkins did go to the Indies, and the outcome of his voyage was the tragedy of San Juan de Ulloa, from which Drake escaped scot-free.

² The content of the letter makes clear that it was written at a time when the North-West Passage was under discussion, but before the publication of Ortelius' *Theatrum*, which replaced cumbersome large sheet maps by an Atlas. John Dee, in his Preface to Billingsley's *Euclid*, states that Sir Humfrey Gilbert was anxious to venture on a voyage to the north-west in 1567, and this is confirmed by a report to his royal master by the Spanish Ambassador de Silva.

chartam percommode ponant aut collocent, nonnullis igitur pugnatum erit hujusmodi chartam excogitatam habere quae late extensa aulae vel cujus ejus generis spacioſo loco non ſolum bene quadret et conveniat, ſed etiam ut ita in tabula quadrata trium aut quatuor fere pedum concinnetur, ut duabus teretibus volventibus columnis ex utraque extremitate circumvolvatur. Ideoque percommodum eſſe ſentio chartam duodecem pedum longitudine excogitandam eſſe, trium vero aut ad ſummum quatuor pedum altitudine: in medio vero meridianam collocari lineam a ſeptentrione ad meridiem ſuper Canarias inſulas primumve longitudinis gradum cadentem, et ſic ad orientem verſus in dextro illius chartae latere in ſex pedibus qui ſunt a dextra parte praedictae lineae meridianae Europa, Affrica, et Asia collocentur uſque ad Gangetem flumen aut eo uſque verſus orientem dum ad numerum 180 graduum longitudine perveniatur, quod certiffimum eſt circumferentiae dimidium. Et ubi in orientalis India ſeu Catay regno ceſſaris; iterum incipies in initio chartae in primis ſex pedibus qui a ſiniſtra ſunt liniae meridianae, ibique cum 181 gradibus in longitudine incipias, gradusque continuos in deſcribenda Catay, America, Florida, Terraque Bakalaos, facias, donec ad lineam meridianem redeas, et illic in 360 gradus in longitudine compleantur. Gradus

Gilbert and his friends had been making uſe of a world map by Ortelius (1564) that meaſured five feet acroſs, and was, moreover, on a heart-shaped projection which greatly diſtorted ſhapes and directions. This may well have been the Universal Map which was ſpread out on the lawyer's table when his young couſin viſited him (about 1568-9) in his Chambers in the Temple, for we are told that the older man pointed out its features with a wand, which ſuggests a large ſheet. A map mounted on vertical rollers, drawn on a cylindrical projection, ſuch as Hakluyt here aſks Ortelius to make for Engliſh ſtudents, would obviously be eaſier to handle and read. Had Mercator's World Map of 1569 been available, we ſhould have expected ſome mention of it, but one of the lawyer's ſources of information was evidently Gemma Friſius' popular Globe, for he particularly wiſhed to ſee on his map the *Strait of the Three Brethren*, which was ſhown on this globe opening directly from the Atlantic Ocean to Cathay. Since Ortelius began upon the *Theatrum* not later than 1568, and this project muſt have been known to his kiſnman Daniel Rogers, who carried Hakluyt's letter, the moſt probable date for the latter would be 1567, rather than 1568. John Aſhley, who ſeconded Hakluyt's requeſt, ſold his intereſt in the ſhip *Caſtle of Comfort* in 1569 or 1570, and hence had then a leſs direct intereſt in world maps. A careful examination of the original letter itſelf, and of the paper on which it is written, has yielded no direct clue as to the date, but nothing about it contradicts the date propoſed.

longitudinis super equinoctalem lineam sunt collocandi, quò in medio per totam duodecem pedum longitudinem trahantur ut tum septentrio tum meridies omnesque ibidem regiones describantur. Neque ullo modo omittendum est Fretum Trium Fratrum suo in loco ab oculis proponere, quoniam adhuc spes is tandem aliquando id inveniri posse, sic autem in charta collocari ad confringendum eorum cosmographorum errorem qui hujusmodi fretum nequaquam exprimunt; asserendo Fretum Trium Fratrum nomen sortitum fuisse a tribus fratribus, qui ut recitat Gemafricius, ex Europa navigantes ea loca praeterierunt. Pliniumque introducendo lib: 2, ca; 67, ex Cornelio Nepote (qui ante Christum natus 57 annos scripsit) commemorantem quosdam Indos ad littora Germaniae tempestate appulsos, et a Sueviae rege Quinto Metello Celeri in Gallia tum proconsuli allatos: et Dominicum Marium Nigrum pagina 590 *de Mari Indico* verba facientem inferendo. Historiam insuper a Francisco Lopete de Gomara prolatam de Indis quibusdam in littore Germanico, tempore Frederici Barbarossae imperatoris projectis, adhibendo. Othonem denique in Gothica historia de quibusdam Indis in eandem terram vi tempestatum projectis adjiciendo: qui varias ob causas nulla alia via agi potuerunt.¹ Quibus aliisque ejusmodi nostri aevi si qua

¹ The strictly parallel passage in Chap. 4 of Humfrey Gilbert's *Discourse* (written in 1566 and revised in 1576) is suggestive. Here the 'various reasons' referred to are set out at length. He writes as follows: "First as Gemma Frisius reciteth, there went from Europe three brethren through this passage: whereof it took the name of *Fretum trium fratrum*."

"Also Plinie affirmeth out of Cornelius Nepos (who wrote 57 yeeres before Christ) that there were certain Indians driven by tempest, upon the coast of Germanie which were presented by the king of Suevia, unto Quintus Metellus Celer, the Proconsull of France...."

"And for the better proof that the same authoritie of Cornelius Nepos is not by me wrested, to prove my opinion of the Northwest passage: you shall finde the same affirmed more plainly in that behalfe, by the excellent Geographer, Dominicus Marius Niger, who sheweth how many wayes the Indian sea stretcheth itselfe, making in that place recital of certaine Indians, that were likewise driven through the North Seas from India, upon the coastes of Germany, by great tempest, as they were sayling in trade of merchandize."

"Also while Frederic Barbarossa reigned Emperour, Anno. Do. 1160 there came certaine other Indians upon the coast of Germanie."

"Likewise Othon in the storie of the Gothes affirmeth, that in the time of the Germane Emperours, there were also certaine Indians cast by force of weather, upon the coast of the said countrey...."

sit, superveniret experientia. Ut certo sciant homines hujus modi fretum esse. Pervulgatum est enim (sed praeter auditum habetur nihil) nostra aetate Hispanos quosdam ab ulteriore parte Floridae hoc fretum praeteriisse, orisque Germaniae appulisse.¹ Collocentur autem ex utroque latere equinoctialis duo tropici, et circulus arcticus et antarcticus. Quò etiam facilius latitudo appareat, non nocebit lineam meridianam a septentrione ad meridiem per chartam perducì ad singulos trium pedum fines, ita ut teretibus circumvoluta columnis in quadrata tabula trium quatuorve pedum semper quandocumque quoque in loco aperta fuerit, omnes in eadem lineae et circuli exactissime appareant, locorum distantias tum longitudine tum latitudine ostensis. Utque ad pauca redeamus, erit perquam facile, praedicto ordine conservato, scalam constituere qua locorum intervalla cito adhibito circulo inveniantur. Hoc pacto nonnullis Anglorum legibus incumbentibus et utriusque academiae tum Oxoniae, tum Cantabrigiae studentibus, Londinique civibus pergratum feceris, et chartam cunctis Europae urbibus vendibiliorum quem ullius alterius formae reddes.

Manus *Ricardi Hachuit*

Figura tabule in qua volumus mappam volvere et revolvere mocione columnarum [Diagram].

Umbra forme universalis cujusdam Mappe per celebrem illum cosmographum Magistrum Ortelium exculpande et producende, ad voluntatem et rogatum Ricardi Hakluyt generosi, Anglorum legibus incumbentis, et Johannis Acheley mercatoris celeberrimi civitatis Londini, cum nonnullorum tum mercatorum tum in eadem urbe et alicubi studencium desiderio et comprobacione, per Danielem Rogerium, magistri Ortelii consanguinem, in Flandriam transmittende, cum pleniori alia pererrata explanacione eorum que facienda sunt, idque articulatum per se adhibita [Diagram].

¹ Gilbert heard this story told by a Spanish gentleman to Sir Henry Sidney when he was in Ireland in 1568. According to this version, Andrew Urdaneta made the voyage in that year, but it appears to have been a story commonly current in Spanish America, and may have reached Hakluyt through another source. Urdaneta died in New Spain in 1568, after visiting Spain in 1566. The expression 'ab ulteriore parte Floridae' means 'from the west coast of North America'.

Translation

To MASTER ORTELIUS, Cosmographer, in Flanders.

Note to M. Ortelius, cosmographer, for the better explanation of the annexed plan etc.

For as much as men usually live in houses which are neither spacious enough nor light enough within for them to be able to place or spread out conveniently a large world map in them, it will be most gratifying to many to have a map thought out on the following lines: namely that when spread out to its full extent it is quite fit and suitable for a hall or other spacious place of that kind, and also when rolled up at each end on two smooth revolving rods it lies conveniently on a table about three or four feet square. And so I think it best for the map to be planned with a length of twelve feet, and a height of three or at most four feet. In the middle is to be placed the meridian line or first degree of longitude running from north to south through the Canary Is., so that eastwards on the six feet of the map to the right of this line will be found Europe, Africa, and Asia as far as the river Ganges, or as far towards the east as longitude 180° , which is just half the circumference. And just where you stop in East India or the Kingdom of Cathay you will start again at the edge of the six feet to the left of the meridian, where you will begin with longitude 181° and continue the degrees of longitude, inserting Cathay, America, Florida, and Baccalaos, until you get back to the meridian line and the 360 degrees are completed. Let the degrees of longitude be marked on the equinoctial line drawn through the middle of the whole twelve feet, so that both north and south and all the regions in them may be marked. Nor must you omit to place before our eyes the *Strait of the Three Brethren* in its correct position, since there is always hope that at some time it may be discovered, and by marking it on the map the error of those cosmographers will be refuted who deny that such a Strait exists: and it should be stated that the *Strait of the Three Brethren* derives its name from three brothers, who as Gemma Frisius recounts, passed that way on a voyage from Europe: and Pliny, Bk 2, chap. 67 should be quoted, himself quoting Cornelius Nepos (who wrote 57 B.C.)

to the effect that certain Indians were driven to the shores of Germany by a storm, and were brought by the King of Suevia to Quintus Metellus Celer, at that time proconsul in Gaul: and the story as told by Dominicus Marius Niger on p. 590 of his *De mari Indico* should be adduced: and further the story put forward by Francis Lopez de Gomara, about certain Indians cast away on the shores of Germany, in the time of Frederick Barbarossa: finally there should be added the authority of Otho in his *History of the Goths* about certain Indians cast away in the same country by the violence of the tempest: who for various reasons could have been driven no other way. To these accounts and to others of similar import might be added the experience, such as it is, of our own times, so that men may know for certain that there is a strait of this kind. For it is commonly asserted, though only by hearsay, that in our own day certain Spaniards passed through this Strait from the further shores of Florida, and landed on the shores of Germany.

Now let there be placed on either side of the equinoctial line the two Tropics, the Arctic and Antarctic Circles. And that the latitude may be more easily seen, it will be as well to draw north-south meridians for every three feet of the map's breadth, so that when it is rolled up to a size of three or four feet square, at whatever place it is opened all the lines and circles will appear exactly on it, showing the distances of places according to their longitude and latitude. And coming to small items, it will be easy, if the above arrangement is followed, to construct a scale by which the distances between places may quickly be found by using a circle.

In this way you will perform a most acceptable service to a number of English lawyers, to the students of both Oxford and Cambridge Universities, and to the citizens of London, and you will produce a map that will sell better in every European city than any other kind.

The hand of *Richard Hakluyt*

Diagram of the way in which the map can be rolled and unrolled by turning the rods [*Omitted*].

Sketch [*Omitted*] of the general form of the map to be engraved

and produced by the celebrated map-maker, M. Ortelius, to the design and at the request of Richard Hakluyt, gentleman and lawyer, and of John Acheley, a well-known merchant of the city of London, with the approval and approbation of several merchants and students of that city and elsewhere. To be sent to Flanders by the hand of Master Daniel Rogers, kinsman of M. Ortelius, together with other fuller details of what is wanted to be put forward clearly by him.

Document 8

EXTRACTS FROM CAMDEN'S *ANNALS*, 1568

... This usage towards her Ambassadour¹ she tooke in ill part, as done in disgrace to her: and no lesse the injury done at this time by the Spaniards to Sir John Hawkins. This Hawkins had arrived at Saint John de Ullua, in the Bay of Mexico, with five ships for commerce, laden with merchandises and Black-more slaves, which were now commonly bought in Africa by the Spaniards, and by their example by the English, and sold again in America, how honestly I know not. The next day arrived there also the King of Spaines Royall Navy, which... set upon the English, slew many, tooke three ships, and pillaged the goods... Hereat the military and sea-faring men all over England fretted and demanded warre against the Spaniards, exclaiming that they were League breakers...

[The Queen] entertained with all kinds of courtesie such French people as fled into England, as also the Netherlanders, of whom a great multitude had withdrawne themselves into England as to a sanctuary, while the Duke of Alva breathed nothing but death and blood against them: who by the Queens permission seated themselves at Norwich, Colchester, Sandwich, Maidstone and Hampton, to the great benefit and commodity of

¹ Dr Man was expelled from Madrid and suffered indignity on a charge of having spoken in an unseemly fashion of the Pope.

the English: for they were the first that brought into England the art of making those slight stuffes which they call Bayes and Sayes, and other such like stuffs of linen and woollen weaving.¹

Document 9

EXTRACTS FROM THE *CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS*, 1569

GUERAU DE SPES to KING PHILIP. London 12 March 1569.

On the 16 ultimo [February] ninety one boxes of [Italian] money were brought hither from the west and put in the Tower,² Hawkins accompanying them with four or five boxes of gold brought from the Indies. During his voyage he has lost at the rate of 50 %, besides the loss of his sailors, not fifteen persons having survived. They said that he had left in Florida some of his men, but they tell me now he left them in Panuco.³

I have already written to your Majesty how the French and English pirates, together and separately, have sallied forth from the ports of the west to plunder vessels of your Majesty's subjects, and have brought them into the ports, getting and distributing their booty as they pleased, without any measures being taken to prevent it. Indeed, many of the Council received great presents from the pirates. This Queen thinks that your Majesty should send some person here to treat with her, without considering how badly she and her people have behaved. But

¹ The year 1568 thus saw two events of critical importance in directing English public opinion towards a new geographical orientation, namely the affair at San Juan de Ulloa, and the military occupation of Antwerp, which had been the headquarters of the English Merchant Adventurers in Flanders. Plans for a renewed search for the North-east Passage were drawn up this year by William Borough, but were not carried into effect by the Muscovy Company.

² This was money loaned by the Genoese bankers for the Duke of Alba's campaign. The Italian ships put into English ports on their way to the Low Countries, and the Queen 'borrowed' the money.

³ This was correct.

really, considering how things are going on here, it will not be conducive to your Majesty's dignity to send anyone, but rather to punish these people in a way that shall make them realise their offence. It is disgusting to hear Cecil talk of the Queen being the only monarch, and that no other Christian prince is a monarch but she!

SAME to SAME.

London 2 April 1569.

. . . Hawkins is reported to have brought back 28,000 dollars in gold and a box of pearls. Some silver was also brought in a ship of his¹ that was thought to be lost but which has arrived in Ireland, and has on board a gentleman of Alava called Don Juan de Mendoza. He was in one of the islands of the Indies, and out of friendship for the English had them supplied with water and victuals. Going on board one of their ships, they sailed away with him in payment for his simplicity. He is now in Ireland and thinks Hawkins will liberate him, in which I believe he is mistaken. . . .

¹ The *William*.

Document 10

EXTRACTS FROM CAMDEN'S *ANNALS*, 1569

And now the English merchants conveyed their merchandise to Hamburgh in Germany, as to a new Mart or Staple.

...In Spaine...the English mariners were drawn in the Inquisition, and condemned to the Galleys and their goods confiscate. And the King of Spaine commanded...that 'no oyle, allum, sugar, spices, or other such like commodities should be transported into England, supposing that if the English were debarred these things, they would soone breake forth in rebellion....

As soone as this was knowne to the Maritime people of England, incredible it is with how great alacrity they put to sea, and how largely they carried piracy against the Spaniards, inso-much as Proclamations came forth to restraints them.¹...

And now the English began more confidently to survey those [eastern] Countries, carrying their merchandises up the River Dwina in boates made of one whole piece or tree, which they rowed and towed up the streame with halsers as far as Wologda, and from thence by land seven dayes journey to Yeraslaw: and then by the Wolga (which is about a mile over, and runneth thorow a clayish soyle, beset with Oakes and Birchen trees) thirty dayes and as many nights journey downe the river to Astracana. And from Astracana (where they built ships) they did by a very great and memorable adventure, many times crosse the Caspian Sea, which is very full of flats and shelves, and pierced thorow the vast desarts of Hircania and Bactria, to Teherin and Casbin, cities of Persia, in hope at length to discover Cathay. But the warres which shortly grew hot betweene the Turkes and Persians, interrupted this laudable enterprise of the Londoners.²

¹ Such a Proclamation was issued on 27 April and again on 3 Aug. 1569, but it had very little effect. An examination of the High Court of Admiralty Records reveals a state of disorder at sea which makes it difficult to understand how any legitimate trade could flourish.

² The last Persian Voyage took place 1579-81. Camden seems to have had the *Principal Navigations* in front of him.

Document 11

EXTRACTS FROM THE *CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS*, 1570

GUERAU DE SPES to KING PHILIP. London 19 April 1570.

I have been informed that the Council was discussing the selection from amongst the corsairs' ships of some to go out and meet the fleet from the Indies: and although no decision has been come to, it is possible that Captain Sores¹ may do this on his own account. . . .

I have reported the arrival here of Bartolomé Bayon, a Portuguese, who has been made much of by the merchants, and some of the Councillors. . . . They invite him to return with a good number of ships to Guinea,² and some of the Council have communicated with him about a project that was discussed here before, to occupy and colonize one or two ports in the Kingdom of Magellanes, in order to have in their hands the commerce of the Southern Sea, and that of Guinea and the coasts of Africa, as well as getting as near as they wish to Peru.³

ANTONIO DE GUARAS to ZAYAS. London Aug. 1 1570.

The alarm publicly expressed by the people here, and their fears of being ruined are perfectly incredible, and the whole talk at

¹ Captain Jacques Sores claimed to be a nephew of Jean Ribault. He was one of the many Huguenot corsairs who were harrying the Spanish Indies during this period.

² For the interdiction of the English Guinea trade, see below, p. 89.

³ This scheme was on the lines of that later developed by Richard Hakluyt (see p. 139). The Kingdom of Magellanes was the great unoccupied area south of the Plate River. This is the earliest mention of the projects for occupying various regions in the Southern Hemisphere which were under discussion between 1570 and 1588 among English geographers and sea-captains. Drake was to explore what was supposed to be a South Pacific continent in similar latitudes to the Kingdom of Magellanes, according to the Draft Plan for his voyage of 1577 (Cotton MSS. Otho EVIII, and G.J. 1930). In 1572 it was rumoured that the French intended to seize St Laurence Is. (Madagascar) as a base for exploring New Guinea, supposed to be part of Terra Australis.

Court consists of discussions as to how they will defend themselves and how they will perish.¹

It is certain that Secretary Cecil, on returning from the Queen's rooms to his own, said in great distress to his wife "Oh wife! if God do not help us we shall all be lost and undone. Get together all the jewels and the money you can, so that you may follow me when the time comes, for surely trouble is in store for us!"

Document 12

EXTRACTS FROM CAMDEN'S *ANNALS*, 1571

There was a prodigious moving of the earth in the east part of the County of Hereford, at Kinneston, a small village. For the 17th of February at six of the clocke in the evening, the grounde sunke, and an hill with a rocke of stones at the foote of it, lifted itself up as if it had risen out of a large sleepe, with a very great roaring at the first, and a voyse, that it was heard by the neighbours a farre off, and ascended to a higher place, leaving a deepe pit behinde it, and carrying with it trees growing, sheep-coats, and flocks of sheep. Of the trees, some lay covered with earth, and others growing fast in the hill as it went stood upright, in such sort as if they had taken root then at first. In the place whence it departed, it left a pit forty foot wide, and four-score elles long. The ground in all was about twenty acres and in going it overthrew a chappell that stood in the way. A Yeugh tree which stood in the Churchyard it removed from the west to the east. With the same force it thrust forward the high wayes,

¹ This was a period of plots and rebellions which naturally resulted in nervous tension. The Pope had excommunicated the Queen in March 1570. On November 17th special celebrations were ordered to commemorate the completion of twelve years of Her Majesty's reign. It was the year in which the younger Hakluyt went up to Oxford. It is not difficult to understand the bitterness against Spain and against the Papacy which often characterises his writings. His cousin, whose most impressionable years had been passed in Queen Mary's reign, showed no such feelings.

with sheepe coats, hedges and trees in them. Of arable ground it made pasture and of pasture arable ground. The higher ground which it met with, it went over, and crushing it together with great force, made it into an higher hill, as it were with a mount cast up. Thus when it had walked on from Sunday in the evening until munday at noone, at length, as if it were weary of the journey, and laboured with its owne weight, it stood still.¹ . . .

There had been now for certayne yeares some variances betwixt the Portuguese and English Merchants, whilst the English from 1552 exercised a painefull trading for gold with those Negres or Blacke-moores into their coast of Affrica, which they call Guinea, and the Portugals which had just discovered those coasts, did the best they could by force and armes to prohibit them so to do, inasmuch as sometimes they had conflicts at sea and stayed the shippes on both sides.²

¹ So striking a calamity in their home county must have engaged the attention of both the Hakluyts. The winter of 1570-1 was one of storm and flood, and it is probable that the earth movements which Camden describes were due to a land-slide.

² A treaty was therefore made between King Sebastian and Queen Elizabeth, which allowed the English to trade freely to Portugal, Barbary, Madeira and the Azores, but restrained them from the lands and seas of the Portuguese 'conquest'. English writers continued to maintain, however, that lands 'not occupied by any Christian prince' could be taken possession of or traded with, apart from priority of discovery. In a document dated March 1573 the position which adventurers sought to establish is stated as follows: "The voyages to Ghynea and the trafficking in the Gulf of Mexico and the very places of the Spaniards possession, hath in the precedent of Hawkins voyage been defended by your Majesty's Council as friendly and lawful: much more is this, which is but a passing in the open sea by them to places that they neither had nor know. Beside that not only traffic, but also possession, planting of people, and habitation, hath been already judged lawful for other nations in such places as the Spaniards and Portugals have not already added to their possessions. As is proved by your Majesties most honourable and lawful grant to Thomas Stuclee and his company for Terra Florida [*i.e.* in 1563]. Also the French mens inhabiting in Florida and Bresil, who albeit they acknowledge the Pope's authority in such things as they graunt to pertain to him, yet in this *universal right* of traffic and temporal dominion they have not holden them bound by his power." (*S.P. Domestic*, vol. xcv, No. 63.)

Document 13

LETTER FROM RICHARD HAKLUYT, Lawyer,

28 Feb. 1571

To the right honerable the LORDE OF BURLEY, one of the quenes Mat^{ies} privye counsell give these. At the cowrt.

Right honerable, knowing that a l^re might have more apt accesse unto yo^r Lordshipp than I, and that lesse to yo^r trouble, I thowght good to send this inclosed note beseeching yo^r hono^r to conster¹ my meaning in the best part.

f^ror that it might seame dowtfull unto me where this force might be employed² as whether ageynst the infidelles or ageynst the protestantes in ffrance or otherwise ageynst the q: Ma^{tie} in Ireland, in England or by Scotland, I cowlde not but gyve the advertisement and leve the same to yo^r wise heades to wey that can better judge, and to whom those matters chefely do apperteyne.

Before Cristmas there arrived from Grand Malaga a young man, a kinsman of myne, by whom I understood that the berer hereof he lefte in service in Spayne w^t soche a one as had grete doinges for the king there, and that he ment shortly after to be in Englande. And, sir, conceving thereof that it was possible he showld understand some secretes, I examined him after his arrivall and gethered theeffect of this inclosed note, which he uttereth not upon heresay of the common people but understandeth the same from the mowth of him to whom the kings l^res came, and by the sight of the copie of the kinges owne l^res prively copied owt by the clerke of the Provodore to whom the l^res were sent. Wth this providoro Petro Vedogo, a knight of the order of Seynt Jago, a servitor by se and land, a man of grete credit, this poore man the berer hereof dwelled, and was his kerver, and had the charge of his plate, and by herkening and

¹ Construe.

² The enclosure referred to the preparation of an armed force in Spain.

listening at a lokk hole not far from whence the providore sate wth a secret friende or twoe, this poore man overherd the effect of the lrē.¹

Thus being bold to troble yo^r hono^r, prayeng pardon for my boldnes, and the rather because I cowlde not wayte as dutie requireth to utter the same by mowthe, I rest wisshing unto yo^r hono^r health, and that this commonwelth may long enjoy yo^w. ffrom the middell temple this present Ashewensday

Yo^r to commande

28 Feb. 1571.

Ri. Hakluyt

Document 14

EXTRACTS FROM THE *CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS*, 1571

DUKE OF FERIA² to ZAYAS.

10 May 1571.

The Queen has felt our weakness, and so assails us with inventions and fears that she will marry in France. She will no more marry Anjou than she will marry me! She has neither youth nor health to bear children³ or to live long... It is out of the question to believe that the French and the English will ever be friends, as they have a natural dislike of each other.

GUERAU DE SPES to KING PHILIP.

London 1571.

The principal person in the Council at present is William Cecil, now Lord Burghley, a knight of the Garter. He is a man of mean sort, but very astute, false, lying, and full of artifice. He is a

¹ Such conduct was typical of the day. Thomas Stukeley was in Spain in 1571, and a letter of August 29, 1571 (*S.P. Domestic*, vol. lxxx), states that he was planning to land in Ireland with a Spanish force.

² Husband of an English wife, Jane Dormer, the patroness of the English merchants in Spain.

³ The Queen was thirty-seven years old. Anjou was the French King's brother and heir presumptive.

great heretic, and such a clownish Englishman as to believe that all the Christian princes joined together are not able to injure the sovereign of his country, and he therefore treats their ministers with great arrogance. This man manages the bulk of the business, and by means of his vigilance and craftiness, together with his utter unscrupulousness of word and deed, thinks to outwit the ministers of other princes. This to a certain extent he has succeeded in doing. Next after him, the man who has most to do with affairs is Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester. Not that he is fit for such work, but because of the great favour with which the Queen regards him. He is a light and greedy man, who maintains the robbers and lives by their plunder....

The other man who has his hand in the government is the Lord Keeper or Guardian, as they call it of the Great Seal [Bacon]. He is an obstinate and most malignant heretic, and being Cecil's brother in law, always agrees with him.

The Admiral [Clinton] does not interfere much in arranging matters, but he is a very shameless thief, without any religion at all: whilst the latter may also be said of the Earl of Sussex. The latter also belongs to the Council, and is more capable than any of the rest. He has shown signs sometimes of wishing to serve your Majesty, as he is an enemy of the Earl of Leicester.

The Earl of Bedford also belongs to the Council. In person and manners he is a monstrosity and a great heretic. There are others of less authority than these, lawyers, creatures of Cecil, who only respect what he says. They have recently admitted Sir James Crofts to the Council. He is secretly attached to the Catholic party, and your Majesty's service, but does not speak openly.¹

¹ Sir James Crofts and Edward Dyer were both suspected of Catholic leanings. Both showed friendliness to Roger Bodenham.

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Final Payment on ———— (p. 10)

Comme l'écrit l'abbé de la Haye en son mandement
de l'an 1712.

1893

I wish a pleasant journey to you and hope you
 will find me very well. I am in good health
 and hope you will find me the same. I am
 very much interested in you and hope you
 will find me the same. I am very much
 interested in you and hope you will find me
 the same. I am very much interested in you
 and hope you will find me the same. I am
 very much interested in you and hope you will
 find me the same. I am very much interested
 in you and hope you will find me the same.

From Oct. 14 to 19, 1906, at the
University of California, Berkeley

Document 15

LETTER FROM RICHARD HAKLUYT, Lawyer, 1571

RICHARD HAKLUYT to my L. OF BURLIEGH. Nov. 7, 1571.

To the right honorable the Lord of Burghley, one of the Queens Maj^{ties}. Privy Councell, give these.

Right honorable the co^mmissioners for disclosing of the customers delinges, according to dutie wrote unto yo^r L. about x or xii dayes past towching the dealinges of one John Horneby late clerk to Mr Colshill, put in trust in the same service, and understanding my verie good L. that Mr. Lychfilde had accesse iii severall tymes to the cownter to the same Horneby besides others, after commawndment given that noeman showld com to him, I wishing well to the service allthoe meanest in co^mmission, prayed Mr. Mathewe who hath had accesse to yo^r L. for this service, to be a sutor untoe yo^r Honor to send this Horneby to Newgate and be throwen into the dungion to the ende the bokes soe long travelled abowt might the soner come to light, and the practisers wth him be the better known unto yo^r L: whoe hath had noe small care (as I have herd) for this service, but hering nothing of Hornebies removing, I began to enter into suspicion, and therefore I thought to advertesse yo^r L: that the boke yet not brought forth by Horneby, discovered the deceyte of vii m.^l li in wyne within the compasse of a yere and that in soe excellent a sort as could not but have plesed the queens ma^{ties} eye and yo^{rs}. Marie my L: this boke could soe have towched Mr. Smyth of the Custom Howse that he wold not have byn thought worthe to have enjoyed his ferme or any other thing, I have ofte herd Horneby affirme that Mr Smith was gossipp to Mr Mathewe, and that there was a grete lege between Smith and Mathewe, and that Mathewe had received both money and plate, and that he cowlde prove hit before yo^r L. w^{ch} weyd, I thowght that Mr. Mathewe wold nether be in haste to bring Horneby to examination, or over redie to use means by yo^r L: to bring this boke to light, and the rather lest Horneby should

disclose to yo^r L: what he had reported, and lest Hornebies well framed boke should be of more comendacion then any made by Mathewe, of this I thowght to advertesse yo^r L: and further that som of the Comissioners have not the best opinion of Mathewe but dowt what they may think of him etc. And thus further I am to advertesse yo^r L: That about v or vi yeres past (as Horneby hath within this ij monethes reported to me and dyvers persons) yo^r L: upon the information of one Parker made agynst the abbuses of the customers, comawnded Sir Wm. Garret of London to seale upp the cownting house dore of John Smith, servant to Mr Colleshill, meening to have had the bokes, and so by the same to have discussed all theyre lewd practeses ageynst her Ma^{tie} etc. But my Lorde, Mr. Colleshill called Horneby aside, and after many feyre promeses and kindes of conjuration for keping secret, he practised with him (being then young and sclender hipped) to clyme up by a ladder to the window of the sealed up cownting house and to crepe in at the glasse windowe, and to steale owt they^r bokes that wold undoe them all if they shold come to yo^r honors handes. This young man accomplished his M^rs desire, and they made soe grete a fier of these bokes that they had almost the house in flame. This done, this fellow Horneby was conveyed by his M^r into Italie, and after the storm was past, ii or iij yeres after retorned into England, this yongman spending prodigely grewe into det and was throwen into the cownter, and Mr Colshill then being safe and past cause of fere (as he thought) wold yeld noe relife, so that there he remayned til Mr. Dawbeney¹ payd al his dettes and redemed him out of prison for to imploy him in her majesties service ageynst the customers. Thus my Lorde by this practise was the quenes majestie abused and resteth spoyled of a grete revenewe as may esely appere to the comon people by presumption and to the comisioners by matter apparant. And pitieing that her majestie shoulde be thus spoyled, or dryven to troble her subjects wth subsidies and levies when she might abownd if she were answered trully of her owne, I cowlde not but troble yo^r L: with these few lynes of advertisement assuring yo^r hono^r that if such thinges be not openly ponisshed as they deserve, that soe comon

¹ This was Oliver Dawbeney, who now held a farm of the customs of beer.

wilbe the deceyte in her majesties offices that grete want wilbe fownde if ever home or foreyne foes made any attempte ageynst her majestie whom god defende.

Thus being over bolde to troble yo^r Hono^r and specially in soch a trobelsome tyme I most humblie take my leve and crave pardon of this my rude boldnesse. ffrom the middel temple this viith of No: 1571.

Yo^r L. at comawndement

Ri: Hakluyt

What privey practises this M^r Mathewe hath in hand for any composicion, that can not the comissioners lerne, or what he meeneth by trayning owt of tyme in finishing his boke this day and that day, and thother day, and then wthin v dayes and then wthin viij dayes etc. accomplishing noe soch promes, what he practeseth thereby we knowe not, but this my Lord we totowel know that the trayning owt of tyme and the practisse of this lewd Horneby hath broken the back of an honest vertuowes gentilman M^r Dawbeney verie faythfully bent in her ma^ties service, and the backes of some other honest and wise men joyning wth him, unlesse yo^r L: putto yo^r helping hand and yelde them present ayd with her ma^ties protection, and further with yo^r cowtenance besides yelde them cowntenance in this service ageynst these mightie bulles of basan that propt upp wth spoyle and we[I]th and grete frends wolde seame to over loke all men and make the world belyve that the mone is made of a grene chese while al men note theyre abundant spoyle, and sore lament that soe noble a prince is spoyled of soch caytifes.¹

¹ It is clear that Mr Dawbeney, and possibly Hakluyt himself (perhaps one of the "honest and wise men joyning with him"), was suffering in pocket from the irregularities which the Commissioners had laid bare. Horneby declared that Mathewe took money from both sides, and that Dawbeney had accepted a bribe to hide Customer Smith's deceit. The latter continued in office in spite of the deficit of £7000 in a single year's payments here alleged.

Document 16

REPORT FROM HENRY HAWKS TO RICHARD HAKLUYT, Lawyer, 1572¹

A relation of the commodities of Nova Hispania, and the maners of the inhabitants, written by HENRY HAWKES marchant, which lived five yeeres in the sayd Countrey,² and drewe the same at the request of M. RICHARD HAKLUYT Esquire of Eiton in the county of Hereford, 1572.

S. John de Ullua.

Saint John de Ullua is an Island not high above the water, whereas nowe the Spaniards upon³ M. John Hawkins being there, are in making a strong fort. In this place all the shippes that come out of Spaine with goods for these parts do unlade. For they have none other port so good as this is. The comming into this place hath three chanel, and the best of all is the Northermost, which goeth by the maine land: and on every side of the chanel there are many small rockes as big as a small barrell: they will make men stand in doubt of them, but there is no feare of them. There is another Island there by, called the Island of sacrifices, whereas the Spaniards did in times past unlade their goods. And for that they say there are upon it spirits or devils, it is not frequented as it hath bene. In these places the North wind hath so great dominion, that oftentimes it destroyeth many shippes and barks. This place is given to great sicknesse. These Islands stand in 18 degrees and a halfe, and about the same is great plentie of fish.

Spirits.

Vera Cruz.

Five leagues from S. John de Ullua is a faire river: it lieth Northwest from the porte, and goeth to a little towne of the Spaniards called Vera Cruz, and with small vessels or barks, which they call Frigates, they carry all their marchandise which commeth out of Spaine, to the saide towne: and in like maner bring all the golde, silver, Cochonilio, hides, and all other things

¹ Guerau de Spes wrote to King Philip, London, 7 Jan. 1572: "Hawkins informs me of everything, and communicates all the Council's letters to me."

² Hawks left Spain for Mexico in 1567. See *supra*, p. 74.

³ Consequent upon.

that the shippes cary into Spaine unto them. And the goods being in Vera Cruz, they cary it to Mexico, and to Pueblo de los Angelos, Sacatecas, and Saint Martin, and divers other places so farre within the Countrey, that some of them are 700. miles off, and some more, and some lesse, all upon horses, mules, and in waynes drawen with oxen, and in carres drawne with mules.

In this towne of Vera Cruz within these twenty yeres, when women were brought to bedde, the children newe borne incontinently died: which is not so now in these dayes, God be thanked.

This towne is inclined to many kinde of diseases, by reason of the great heat, and a certeine gnat or flie which they call a Muskito, which biteth both men and women in their sleepe; and assoone as they are bitten, incontinently the flesh swelleth as though they had bene bitten with some venomous worme. And this Muskito or gnat doeth most follow such as are newly come into the Countrey: Many there are that die of this annoyance. *Musquito.*

This towne is situated upon the river aforesayd, and compassed with woods of divers maners and sorts, and many fruits, as Oranges and lemmons, Guiaves, and divers others, and birds in them, popinjays both small and great, and some of them as big as a raven, and their tailes as long as the taile of a Fesant. There are also many other kinde of birdes of purple couller, and small monkees marveilous proper. *Monkees.*

This hotte or sicke Countrey continueth 45. miles towards the city of Mexico; and the 45. miles being passed, then there is a temperate Countrey, and full of tillage:¹ but they water all their corne with rivers which they turne in upon it. And they gather their Wheate twice a yeere. And if they should not water the ground where as their corne is sowne, the Countrey is so hotte it would burne all. *Wheate twice in a yeere.*

Before you come to Mexico, there is a great towne called Tlaxcalla, which hath in it above 16000. households. All the inhabitants thereof are free by the kings of Spaine: for these were the occasion that Mexico was wonne in so short time, and with so little losse of men. Wherefore they are all Gentlemen, and pay no tribute to the king. In this towne is all the Cochonilio growing. *Tlaxcalla a free Citie.*

¹ *Tierra caliente and tierra templada.*

Mexico.

Mexico is a great Citie; it hath more then fifty thousand households, whereof there are not past five or sixe thousand houses of Spaniards: all the other are the people of the Countrey, which live under the Spaniards lawes. There are in this city stately buildings, and many monasteries of friers and nunnes, which the Spaniards have made. And the building of the Indians is somewhat beautifull outwardly, and within full of small chambers, with very small windoes, which is not so comely as the building of the Spaniards. This Citie standeth in the middest of a great lake, and the water goeth through all or the most part of the streetes, and there come small boats, which they call Canoas, and in them they bring all things necessary, as wood, and coales, and grasse for their horses, stones and lime to builde, and corne.

This Citie is subject to many earthquakes, which oftentimes cast downe houses, and kill people. This Citie is very well provided of water to drinke, and with al maner of victuals, as fruits, flesh and fish, bread, hennes and capons, Guinie cocks and hennes, and all other fowle. There are in this Citie every weeke three faires or markets, which are frequented with many people, aswell Spaniards as the people of the Countrey. There are in these faires or markets all maner of things that may bee invented, to sell, and in especiall things of the Countrey. The one of these faires is upon the Monday, which is called S. Hypolitos faire, and S. James his faire is upon the Thursday, and upon Saturday is S. Johns faire. In this Citie is alwayes the kings governour or Viceroy, and there are kept the Termes and Parliaments. And although there bee other places of Justice, yet this is above all: so that all men may appeale unto this place, and may not appeale from this Citie, but onely into Spaine before the King: and it must be for a certaine summe; And if it be under that summe, then there is no appellation from them. Many rivers fall into this lake which the Citie standeth in: but there was never any place found whither it goeth out.

*A waye to
drowne
Mexico.*

The Indians know a way to drowne the Citie, and within these three yeeres they would have practised the same: but they which should have bene the doers of it were hanged: and ever since the Citie hath bene well watched both day and night, for

feare least at some time they might be deceived: for the Indians love not the Spaniards. Round about the towne there are very many gardens and Orchards of the fruits of the Countrey, marveilous faire, where the people have great recreation. The men of this Citie are marveilous vicious, and in like maner the women are dishonest of their bodies, more then they are in other Cities or townes in this Countrey.

There are neere about this Citie of Mexico many rivers and standing waters, which have in them a monstrous kinde of fish which is marveilous ravening, and a great devourer of men and cattell. He is wont to sleepe upon the drie land many times: and if there come in the meane time any man or beast and wake or disquiet him, he speedeth well if he get from him. Hee is like unto a serpent saving that he doeth not flye, neither hath he wings. *Crocodiles.*

There is West out of Mexico a port towne which is on the Southsea, called Puerto de Navidad,¹ where as there are shippes which they have ordinarily for the navigation of China, which they have newly found. This port is threescore leagues from Mexico. *Navigation to China from port de Navidad.*

There is another port towne which is called Culluacan: on the South Sea, which lyeth West and by North out of Mexico, and is 150.² leagues from the same. And there the Spaniards made two ships to goe seeke the streight or gulfe, which as they say, is betweene the Newfoundland and Groenland;³ and they call it the Englishmens straite, which as yet was never fully found. They say, that Straight lieth not farre from the maine land of China, which the Spaniards accompt to be marveilous rich. *The North-west straight.*

Towarde the North from Mexico, there are great store of silver mynes. There is greater quantitie of silver found in these mines toward the North, then there is in any other partes: and as the most men of experience sayde alwayes, they finde the richer mines the more Northerly. These mines are commonly upon great hilles and stony ground, marvailous hard to be laboured and wrought.

¹ Acapulco in the 2nd edn. of the *Principal Navigations*.

² 200 in the 2nd edn.

³ This expedition of 1542-3 reached lat. 43° N.

*Painting
earth.*

Out of some of the mines, the Indians finde a certeine kinde of earth of divers coulours, wherewith they paint themselves in times of their daunces, and other pastimes which they use.

Golde mines.

In this Countrey of Nova Hispania there are also mines of gold, although the golde be commonly found in rivers, or very neere unto rivers. And nowe in these dayes there is not so much golde found as there hath bene heretofore.

There are many great rivers and great store of fish in them, not like unto our kindes of fish. And there are marveilous great woods, and as faire trees as may bee seene of divers sorts, and especially firre trees that may maste any shippe that goeth upon the sea, okes and pine-aples,¹ and another tree which they call Miskito: it beareth a fruit like unto a peascod marveilous sweete, which the wilde people gather and keepe it all the yeere, and eat it in steade of bread.

*7 cities by
witchcraft not
found of the
seekers.*

The Spaniards have notice of seven Cities which olde men of the Indians shewe them should lie towards the Northwest from Mexico. They have used and use dayly much diligence in the seeking of them, but they cannot finde any one of them. They say that the witchcraft of the Indians is such, that when they come by these townes they cast a miste upon them, so that they cannot see them.

They have understanding of another Citie which they call Copalla and in like maner, at my being in the Countrey, they have used much labour and diligence in the seeking of it: they have found the lake on which it should stande, and a Canoa, the head whereof was wrought with copper curiously, and coulde not finde nor see any man nor the towne, which to their understanding should stand on the same water or very neere the same.

*The beasts of
Nova
Hispania.*

There is a great number of beasts or kine in the countrey of Cibola, which were never brought thither by the Spaniards, but breed naturally in the Countrey. They are like unto our oxen, saving that they have long haire like a Lion, and short hornes, and they have upon their shoulders a bunche like a Camell, which is hier then the rest of their body.² They are marveilous wilde and swift in running. They call them the beastes or kine of Cibola.

¹ Pine trees.

² Bison. Hawkes is summarising the results of Coronado's journey of 1541-2.

This Cibola is a Citie which the Spaniards founde nowe of late, without any people in the same, goodly buildings, faire chimneis, windoes made of stone & timber excellently wrought, faire welles with wheeles to drawe their water, and a place where they had buried their dead people, with many faire stones upon the graves. And the Captaine would not suffer his souldiers to breake up any part of these graves, saying, hee would come another time to doe it.

*Cibola
abandoned.*

They asked certeine people which they mette, whither the people of this Citie were gone: And they made answere, they were gone downe a river which was there by very great, and there had builded a Citie which was more for their commoditie.

This Captaine lacking things necessarie for himselfe and his men, was faine to returne backe againe, without finding any treasure according to his expectation: neither founde they but fewe people, although they founde beaten wayes, which had bene much haunted and frequented. The Captaine at his coming backe againe, had a great checke of the governour, because he had not gone forwards and seene the end of that river.

They have in the Countrey farre from the seaside, standing waters which are salt: And in the moneths of Aprill and May, the water of them congealeth into salt, which salt is all taken for the kings use and profit.

*Water
congealed
to salt.*

Their dogges are all crooked backt as many as are of the Countrey breede, and cannot runne fast: their faces are like the face of a pigge or an hogge, with sharpe noses.

*Dogs of India
described.*

In a certeine province which is called Guatimala, & Sacanusco, there is growing great store of Cacao; which is a berrie like unto an Almond: It is the best Marchandise that is in all the Indies. The Indians make drinke of it, and in like maner meate to eate. It goeth currantly for money in any market or faire, and may buy any flesh, fish, bread or cheese or other things.

*Cacao a fruit
currant as
money.*

There are many kinde of fruits of the Countrey, which are very good, as Plantans, Sapotes, Guiaves, Pinas, Aluacatas, Tunas, Mamios, Lymons, Orenge, Walnuts very small and hard with little meate in them, grapes which the Spaniards brought into the Countrey, and also wilde grapes, which are of the Countrey, and are very small, quinses, peches, figges, and

Fruites.

but fewe apples, and very small, and no peares: but there are melons and Calabasses.

There is much honie, both of bees, and also of a kind of tree which they call Maguez.¹ This hony of Maguez is not so sweete as the other hony is, but it is better to be eaten only with bread, then the other is; and the tree serveth for many things, as the leaves make threed to sowe any kinde of bags, and are good to cover or thatch houses, and for divers other things.

Hot springs. They have in divers places of the Countrey many hote springs of water. As above all other, I have seene one in the province of Mechuacan. In a plaine field without any mountaine, there is a spring which hath much water, & it is so hot, that if a whole quarter of beefe bee cast into it, within on halfe howre, it will be as well sodden, as it will be over a fire in halfe a daye. I have seene halfe a Sheepe cast in, and immediatly it hath beene sodden, and I have eaten parte of it.

Hares and Conies. There are many Hares, and some Conies. There are no partridges, but abundance of quails.

Sea fishe. They have great store of fishe in the South Sea, and many Oysters, and very great. The people doe open the oysters, and take out the meate of them, and dry it, as they doe any other kinde of fish, and keepe them all the yeere: and when the times serve, they send them abroad into the Countrey to sell, as all other fishe. They have no Salmon, nor Trowte, nor Pele, nor Carpe, Tench, nor Pike, in all the Countrey.

Mountaines. There are in the Countrey mightie high mountaines, and hils, and snowe upon them. They commonly burne, and twice every day they cast out much smoke, and ashes, at certeine open places, which are in the toppes of them.

Manna. There is among the wilde people much Manna. I have gathered of the same, and have eaten it, and it is good: For the Apothecaries send their servants at certeine times, to gather of the same, for purgations, and other uses.

There are in the mountaines many wilde hogs, which all men may kill, and Lyons and Tygers;² which Tygers doe much harme to men that travell in the wildernes.

In this Countrey, not long since, there were two poore men

¹ The agave.

² Pumas and cougars.

that found a marvelous rich myne, and when these men went to make a register of the same, according to the law and custome, before the Kings officers, they thought this myne not meete for such men as they were: and violently tooke the sayd mine for the King; and gave no part thereof unto the two poore men. And within certaine daies the Kings officers resorted thither to labour in the myne, & they found two great mightie hills were come together, so they found no place to worke in. And in the time, while I was among them, which was five yeeres,¹ there was a poore shepheard, who keeping of his sheepe, happened to finde a Well of quickesilver, and he went in like manner to manifest the same, as the custome and maner is. The Kings officers dealt in like order, as they did with the two poore men that found the rich myne, taking it quite from the shepheard: but when they went to fetch home the quickesilver, or part thereof, they could never finde it againe. So these things have bene declared unto the King, who hath given commandement, that nothing being found in the fieldes, as mynes, and such like, shall be taken away from any man. And many other things have bene done in this Countrey, which men might count for great merveils.

*Mines
discovered,
not found
again.*

There is great abundance of suger here, & they make divers conserves, & very good, and send them into Peru, whereas they sell them marvelous well, because they make none in those parts.

*Suger and
conserves.*

The people of the Countrey, are of a good stature, tawnie coloured, broad faced, flat nosed, and given much to drinke both wine of Spaine and also a certeine kind of wine, which they make with hony of Maguez, and rootes, and other things which they use to put into the same. They call the same wine Pulco. They are soone drunke, and given to much beastlines, and void of all goodnes. In their drunkennes they use and commit sodomie, and with their mothers and daughters they have their pleasures and pastimes. Whereuppon they are defended from the drinking of wines, upon paines of money, aswell he that selleth the wines, as the Indian that drinketh the same. And if this commandement were not, all the wine in Spaine and in France were not sufficient for the West Indias onely.

*Description of
the Indians
person and
manners.*

They are of much simplicitie, and great cowards, void of all valour, and are great Witches. They use divers times to talke with the Devill, to whome they do certeine sacrifices and oblations: many times they have bene taken with the same, and I have seene them most cruelly punished for that offence.

The people are given to learne all maner of occupations and sciences, which for the most part they learned since the comming of the Spaniards: I say all maner of artes. They are very artificiall in making of Images, with feathers, or the proportion or figure of any man, in all kinde of maner as he is. The finenes and excellencie of this is wonderfull, that a barbarous people as they are, should give themselves to so fine an arte as this is. They are Goldsmiths, Blacksmiths, and Copper Smiths, Carpenters, Masons, Shoemakers, Tailers, Sadlers, Imbroderers, and of all other kind of sciences: and they will, and doe worke so good cheape, that poore yong men that goe out of Spaine to get their living, are not set on worke. Which is the occasion there are many idle people in the Countrey. For the Indian will live all the weeke with lesse then one groate, which the Spaniard cannot doe, nor any man els.

*The Indians
ignorance
from whence
they came.*

They say, that they came of the linage of an olde man, which came thither in a boate of wood, which they call a Canoa. But they cannot tell whether it were before the flood, or after, neither can they give any reason of the flood, nor from whence they came. And when the Spaniards came first among them, they did certaine sacrifice to an Image made in stone, of their owne invention. The stone was set upon a great hill, which they made of bricke of earth, they call it their Cowa.¹ And certeine daies in the yeere they did sacrifice, certaine olde men, and yong children, and onely beleevd in the Sunne and the Moone, saying, that from them they had all things that were needful for them. They have in these parts great store of cotton wooll,² with which they make a maner of linnen cloth, which the Indians weare, both men and women, and it serveth for shirts & smocks and all other kind of garments, which they weare upon their bodies: and the Spaniards use it to all such purposes, especially such as cannot buy other. And if it were not for this kind of cloth, all

¹ *Teo-calli* or God's House.

² Cotton.

maner of cloth that goeth out of Spaine, I say,¹ linnen cloth would be solde out of all measure.

The wilde people go naked, without any thing upon them. The women weare the skinne of a Deere before their privities, and nothing els upon all their bodies. They have no care for any thing but onely from day to day for that which they have neede to eate. They are bigge men, and likewise the women. They shoote in bowes, which they make of a cherrie tree, and their arrowes are of Cane, with a sharpe flint stone in the end of the same: they will pierce any coat of maile, and they kill Deere, and Cranes, and wilde Geese, Duckes and other fowle, and Wormes, and Snakes, and divers other vermin, which they eate. They live very long, for I have seene men that have bene 100. yeeres of age. They have but very litle haire in their face, nor on their bodies.

*The wild
Indians.*

The Indians have the Friers in great reverence. The occasion is, that by them, and by their meanes, they are free, and out of bondage, which was so ordeined by Charles the Emperour, which is the occasion, that now there is not so much gold and silver comming into Europe, as there was while the Indians were slaves. For when they were in bondage, they could not chuse but doe their taske every day, and bring their Masters so much mettall out of their Mynes. But nowe they must be well paid, and much entreated to have them worke. So it hath bene, and is a great hinderance to the owners of the Mynes, and to the Kings quinto or custome.

*Friers in
reverence.*

There are many Mynes of Copper in great quantitie, whereof they spend in the Countrey as much as serveth their turnes. There is some gold in it, but not so much as will pay the costes of the fining. The quantitie of it is such, and the Mynes are so farre from the sea, that it will not be woorth the freight to cary it into Spaine. On the other side, the Kings officers will give no licence to make Ordinance thereof: whereupon the Mynes lie unlaboured, and of no valuation.

There is much lead in the Countrey, so that with it they cover Churches, and other religious houses: wherefore they shall not need any of our lead, as they have had neede thereof in times past.

¹ Especially.

*The pompe of
owners of
Mines.*

The pompe and liberalitie of the owners of the Mynes is marvelous to behold. The apparell both of them, and of their wives, is more to be compared to the apparell of Noble persons, then otherwise. If their wives goe out of their houses, as unto the Church, or any other place, they goe out with great Majestie, and with as many men and maides, as though she were the wife of some Nobleman. I will assure you, I have seene a Myners wife goe to the Church with 100. men, and 20. Gentlewomen, and maides. They keepe open house, who will, may come to eate their meate. They call men with a bell to come to dinner and supper. They are Princes in keeping of their houses, and bountifull in all maner of things.

A good owner of Mynes must have at the least an hundred slaves, to carry and to stampe his metalls; he must have many Mules, and men to keepe the Mynes; he must have mills to stampe his mettals; he must have many waines, and Oxen to bring home wood to fine the ore; he must have much quickesilver, and a marvelous quantitie of salt brine, for the mettals; and he must be at many other charges. And as for this charge of quickesilver, it is a new invention, which they finde more profitable, then to fine their ore with lead. Howbeit the same is very costly. For there is never a hundreth of quickesilver but costeth at the least 60. pounds sterling. And the Mynes fall daily in decay, and of lesse value: and the occasion is, the few Indians that men have to labour their Mynes.

*The plentie
of Cattell.*

There is in new Spaine a marvellous increase of cattel, which daily do increase, and they are of a greater growthe then ours are. You may have a great Steere that hath an hundred weight of tallow in his bellie for sixteene shillings, and some one man hath 20000 head of cattell of his owne. They sel the hides unto the Merchants, who lade into Spaine as many as may be wel spared. They spend many in the Countrey in shoes and bootes, and in the mynes: and as the Countrey is great, so is the increase of the cattell wonderfull. In the Island of Santo Domingo they commonly kil the beasts for their hides and tallow; and the fowles eat the carkases: and so they do in Cuba and Porto Ricco, whereas there is much suger, and Cana fistula, which daily they send into Spaine. They have great increase of sheepe in like

maner, and dayly doe intend to increase them. They have much wool, and as good as the wooll of Spaine. They make cloth as much as serveth the Countrey, for the common people, and send much cloth into Peru. I have seene cloth made in the city of Mexico, which hath beene solde for ten pezos a vare, which is almost foure pounds English, and the vare is lesse then our yard. They have Oad¹ growing in the Countrey, and Allam, and Brasill, and divers other things to dye withall, so that they make all colours. In Peru they make no cloth, but heereafter our cloth will be little set by in these parts, unlesse it be some fine cloth.² The wools are commonly foure shillings every rowe, which is five & twenty pounds: and in some places of the Countrey that are farre from the places where as they make cloth, it is worth nothing, and doth serve but onely to make beds for men to lye on.

*Sheepe,
Wool, Cloth.*

*Oad, Allam,
Brasill.*

They make hats, as many as doe serve the Countrey, very fine and good, and sell them better cheape, then they can be brought out of Spaine, and in like maner send them into Peru.

Many people are set on worke, both in the one, and in the other: they spin their wooll as we do, and in steede of oile, they have hogs grease: they twist not their threed so much as we doe, neither worke so fine a threed. They make no kersies, but they make much cloth, which is course, and sell it for lesse then 12. pence the vare. It is called Sayall.

They have much silke, and make all maner of sortes thereof, as Taffataes, Sattins, Velvets of all colours, and they are as good as the silkes of Spaine, saving that the colours are not so perfect: but the blackes are better then the blackes that come out of Spaine.

They have many horses, and mares, and mules, which the Spaniards brought thither. They have as good Jennets, as any are in Spaine, and better cheape then they bee in Spaine. And with their mules they cary all their goods from place to place.

*Horses,
Mules,
Jennets.*

There is raine usually in this Countrey, from the moneth of May, to the midst of October, every day, which time they call their winter, by reason of the said waters. And if it were not for

¹ Woad.

² Spanish America had hitherto been a market for the coarse woollens exported from England. All this economic information was important to the lawyer who advised merchants on matters of foreign trade.

*Maiz graine
for man and
beast.*

the waters which fal in these hot seasons, their Maiz, which is the greatest part of their sustenance, would be destroyed. This Maiz is the greatest maintenance which the Indian hath, and also all the common people of the Spaniards. And their horses and mules which labour, cannot be without the same. This graine is substantiall, and increaseth much blood. If the Miners should bee without it, they coulde not labour their Mines: for all their servants eate none other bread, but onely of this Maiz, and it is made in cakes, as they make oaten cakes, in some places of England.

The Indians pay tribute, being of the age of 20. yeeres, 4. shillings of money, and an hanege of Maiz, which is worth 4. shillings more, unto the King every yeere. This is payd in all Nova Hispania, of as many as be of the age of 20. yeeres, saving the Citie of Tlascalla, which was made free, because the citizens thereof were the occasion that Cortes tooke Mexico in so litle a time. And although at the first, they were freed from paiment of tribute, yet the Spaniards now begin to usurpe upon them, and make them to till a great field of Maiz, at their owne costes every yeere for the King, which is as beneficiall unto him, and as great cost unto them, as though they paid their tribute, as the others doe.

The ships which goe out of Spaine with goods for Peru, goe to Nombre de dios, and there discharge the said goods: and from thence they be caried over the necke of a lande, unto a porte towne in the south sea, called Panama, which is 17. leagues distant from Nombre de dios. And there they doe ship their goods againe, and so from thence goe to Peru. They are in going thither three moneths, and they come backe againe in 20. dayes. They have seldome foule weather, and fewe ships are lost in the south sea. Foure yeeres past, to wit 1568, there was a ship made out of Peru, to seeke Salomons Islands, and they came somewhat to the South of the Equinoctiall, & founde an Island with many blacke people, in such number, that the Spaniards durst not goe on land among them.¹ And because they had bene long

*Salomons
Islands
sought, and
found in the
South sea,
1568.*

¹ Two battered ships which had set out on Nov. 19, 1567 in search of the Western Islands, Solomon Islands and New Guinea, arrived in Santiago near Natividad on January 24, 1569. The licentiate Juan de Orosco of Guadalajara who sent the news to Philip II suggested that the islands discovered could be used as a base for the discovery of the mainland beyond, 'rich in gold and silver and with a people clothed'. (Hak. Soc. Pub. 2nd series, 7.)

uppon the voyage, their people were very weake, and so went not on land, to know what commoditie was upon it. And for want of victuals, they arrived in Nova Hispania, in a port called Porte de Navidad, and thence returned backe againe unto Peru, whereas they were evill entreated, because they had not knowen more of the same Island.

They have in this port of Navidad ordinarily their ships which goe to the Islands of China, which are certaine Islands which they have found within these 7. yeeres.¹ They have brought from thence gold, and much Cinamon, and dishes of earth, and cups of the same, so fine, that every man that may have a peece of them, will give the weight of silver for it. There was a mariner that brought a pearle as big as a doves egge from thence, & a stone, for which the Viceroy would have given 3000. duckets. Many things they bring from thence, most excellent. There are many of these ylands, and the Spaniards have not many of them as yet:² for the Portingals disturbe them much, and combate with them every day, saying, it is part of their conquest, and to the maine land they cannot come at any hand. There are goodly people in them, and they are great marriners, richly apparelled in cloth of gold, and silver, and silke of all sorts, and goe apparelled after the maner of the Turkes. This report make such as come from thence. The men of the maine land, have certaine traffique with some of these Islanders, and come thither in a kind of ships, which they have with one saile, and bring of such merchandize as they have neede of. And of these things there have bene brought into New Spaine both cloth of gold and silver, and divers maners of silkes, and workes of gold and silver, marvelous to be seene. So by their saying, there is not such a Countrey in the whole world. The maine land is from the Islands 150. leagues: and the Islands are not farre from the Moluccas northwards. And the people of those Islands, which the Spaniards have, say, that if they would bring their wives and children, that then they should have among them what they would have. So there goe women dayly, and the king paieth all

*China found
by the West.*

*China ships
with one saile.*

¹ The Pacific route to the Philippines was opened in 1564-5 by Urdaneta.

² "This is to be understood of the time when this discourse was written, 1572." (Note by Hakluyt.)

the charges of the married men and their wives, that go to those Islands. And there is no doubt, but the trade will be marvelous rich in time to come.¹

It was my fortune to be in companie with one Diego Gutierres,² who was the first Pilot that ever went to that Countrey of the Phillippinaes. He maketh report of many strange things in that Countrey, aswel riches, as others, and saith, if there bee any Paradise upon earth, it is in that countrey: and addeth, that sitting under a tree, you shall have such sweet smels, with such great content and pleasure, that you shall remember nothing, neither wife, nor children, nor have any kinde of appetite to eate or drinke, the odoriferous smels wil be so sweete. This man hath good livings in Nova Hispania, notwithstanding hee will returne thither, with his wife and children, and as for treasure, there is abundance, as he maketh mention. In this Countrey of Nova Hispania there are many Buckes and Does, but they have not so long hornes as they have here in England. The Spaniards kill them with handguns and with grayhounds, and the Indians kill them with their bowes, and arrowes, and with the skins they make chamoyce, such as we in England make doublets and hose of, as good as the skins that are dressed in Flanders, & likewise they make marvelous good Spanish leather of them. There is a bird, which is like unto a Raven, but he hath some of his feathers white: there is such abundance of them, that they eate all the corrupt and dead flesh which is in the Countrey. Otherwise the abundance of carren is so much, that it would make a marvelous corrupt aire in all the Countrey, and be so noisome, that no man could abide it. Therefore it is commanded, there shall none of them be killed. These birds are alwayes about Cities, and Townes, where there is much flesh killed.

*Chamoice,
Spanish
leather.*

*India Ravens
not killed, to
devour
Carion.*

*Wrongs done
to the Indians
punished.*

The Indians are much favoured by the Justices of the Countrey, and they call them their orphanes. And if any Spaniard should happen to doe any of them harme, or to wrong him in taking any thing from him, as many times they doe, or to strike any of them, being in any towne, whereas justice is, they

¹ Such reports naturally stimulated the English adventurers to attempt to reach the Pacific.

² Gutierrez published a map of North America in 1562.

are aswell punished for the same, as if they had done it one Spaniard to another. When a Spaniard is farre from Mexico, or any place of justice, thinking to doe with the poore Indian what he list, considering he is so farre from any place of remedy, he maketh the Indian do what he commaundeth him, and if he will not doe it, hee beateth and misuseth him, according to his owne appetite. The Indian holdeth his peace, untill hee finde an opportunitie, and then taketh a neighbour with him, and goeth to Mexico, although it be 20. leagues off, and maketh his complaint. This his complaint is immediatly heard, & although it be a Knight, or a right good Gentleman, he is forthwith sent for, and punished both by his goods, and also his person is imprisoned, at the pleasure of the Justice. This is the occasion that the Indians are so tame and civill, as they are: and if they should not have this favour, the Spaniards would soone dispatch all the Indians, or the Indians would kill them. But they may call them dogs, and use other evill words, as much as they will, and the Indian must needes put it up, and goe his way.

*Justice cause
of civillitie.*

The poore Indians wil go every day two or three leagues to a Faire or Market with a childe upon their necks, with as much fruit or rootes, or some kinde of ware, as cotton wooll, or Cadis of all colours, as shall be not past worth a pennie: and they will mainteine themselves upon the same. For they live with a marvelous small matter.

They are in such povertie, that if you neede to ride into the Countrey, you shall have an Indian to goe with you all the day with your bed upon his backe, for one roiall of plate: and this you shall have from one Towne to another. Here you are to understand, that all men that traveile by the way, are alwayes wont to carry their beds with them. They are great theeves, and wil steale all that they may, and you shall have no recompence at their hands.

The garments of the women, are in this manner. The uppermost part is made almost like to a womans smock, saving that it is as broad above as beneath, and hath no sleeves, but holes on eche side one to put out their armes. It is made of linnen cloth, made of cotton wooll, and filled full of flowers, of red Cadis and blewe, and other colours. This garment commeth downe to the

*The apparell
of the Indians.*

knees, and then they have another cloth made after the same maner, and that goeth rounde about their waste, and reacheth to their shooes, and over this a white fine sheet upon their heads, which goeth downe halfe the legge. Their haire is made up round with an haire lace about their head. And the men have a small paire of breeches, of the same cotton wool, and their shirts which hang over their breeches, and a broad girdle about their middles, and a sheete with flowers upon their backes, and with a knot upon one shoulder, & an hat upon their heads, and a paire of shooes. And this is all their apparell, although it be a Casique, which they use in all the Countrey.

*The houses of
the Indians.*

The wals of the houses of the Indians, are but plaine, but the stones are laid so close, that you shall not well perceive the joynts betweene one stone and another, they are so finely cut: and by the meanes that the stones are so workmanly done, and finely joyned together, there is some beautie in their wals. They are mervelous small and light, as Pumie stones. They make their doores very little, so that there can goe in but one man at a time. Their windowes, and roomes within their houses, are small, and one roome they have reserved for their friendes, when they come to talke one with another, and that is alwayes faire matted, and kept mervelous cleane, and hanged full of images, and their chaires standing there to sit in. They eate their meate upon the ground, and sleepe on the ground upon a mat, without any bed, both the gentlemen, and other.

*Fire rubbed
out of two
stickes.*

The Indians strike their fire with one sticke in another, aswell the tame people, as the wilde. For they know not how to doe it with an yron, and a stone.

*Divers
speeches.*

In Nova Hispania every 10. or 12. leagues they have a contrarie speech, saving onely about Mexico: so there is a number of speeches in the Countrey.

*Mutezuma
and his riches.*

Mutezuma¹ which was the last King of this Countrey, was one of the richest Princes which have bene seene in our time, or long before. He had all kinde of beasts, which were then in the countrey, and all maner of birds, and fishes, and all maner of wormes, which creepe upon the earth, and all trees, and flowers, and herbes, all fashioned in silver and gold, which was the

¹ Montezuma.

greatest part of al his treasure, and in these things had he great joy, as the old Indians report. And unto this day, they say that the treasure of Mutezuma is hidden, and that the Spaniards have it not. This King would give none of his people freedome, nor forgive any of them that should pay him tribute, though he were never so poore. For if it had bene told him that one of his tributaries was poore, & that he was not able to pay his tribute according to the custome, then he would have him bound to bring at such times as tributes should be payd, a quill full of Lyce, saying, hee would have none free, but himselfe. He had as many wives or concubines, as he would have, and such as liked him. Alwaies whensoever he went out of his Court, to passe the time, he was borne upon 4. of his noble mens shoulders set upon a table, some say, of golde, and very richly dressed with feathers, of divers and many colours and flowers. He washed all his bodie every day, were it never so cold. And unto this day, so doe all the Indians, and especially the women.

*The Indians
wash
themselves
every day.*

The Spaniards keepe the Indians in great subjection. They may have in their houses no sword nor dagger, nor knife with any point, nor may weare upon them any maner of armes, neither may they ride upon any horse nor mules, in any sadle nor bridle, neither may they drinke wine, which they take for the greatest paine of all. They have attempted divers times to make insurrections, but they have bene overthrowen immediatly by their owne great and beastly cowardlinesse.

There remaine some among the wild people, that unto this day eate one another. I have seene the bones of a Spaniard that have bene as cleane burnished, as though it had bene done by men that had no other occupation. And many times people are carried away by them, but they never come againe, whether they be men or women.

Cannibals.

They have in the Sea Islands of red salt in great aboundance, whereas they lade it from place to place, about the sea coast: and they spend very much salt with salting their hides, and fish: and in their mynes they occupie great quantitie.

Island of salt.

They have much Allam, and as good as any that is in all the Levant, so that they neede none of that commoditie.

Allam.

They have also of their owne growing, much Cana fistula, &

Cassia fistula.

Salsa perilla. much Salsa Perilla, which is mervelous good for many kind of diseases.

Florida. There are in Florida many Jarrefalcons, and many other kinde of hawkes, which the Gentlemen of Nova Hispania send for every yeere. The Spaniards have two forts there, chiefly to keepe out the Frenchmen from planting there.

Document 17

EXTRACTS FROM CAMDEN'S *ANNALS*, 1576

Andwerp the most excellent of all cities, which scarce yeelded to any the most flourishing port townes of all Europe, was miserably sacked by the Spaniards....

Some learned wits also being kindled with an honest desire to discover the most remote regions of the world and the secrets of the Ocean, excited with monyed men no lesse inflamed with a desire of having, to discover if there were any straight in the north part of America, through which men might sayle to the rich country of Cathay, and the wealth of the East and West might be enjoyed by mutuall commerce.¹...

... Leicester presently with money and grete promises, put away Douglass Sheffield (whether his Paramor or his wife I cannot say) on whom he had begotten a sonne,² and more openly made love to Lettice, Essex his widow, to whom also he joyned himself in a doubled marriage. For though it was reported that he had taken her to wife secretly, yet Sir Francis Knolles, who was father to Lettice, and was acquainted with Leicesters straying loves, would not believe it... unlesse he might see the wedlock knit in his owne presence....

¹ The reference is to the Frobisher voyages, 1576, 1577, 1578. The plans and preparations for Drake's voyage remained a well-guarded secret. The Spaniard Anthony de Guaras believed in September 1577 that 'the pirate' was bound for Scotland to kidnap the little Prince James. Nearly five months after he left Plymouth, Mendoza was told he had gone once more to Nombre de Dios and the Cimarrones. Meanwhile in December 1577 the Queen wrote to King Philip: "We beg very affectionately that all suspicions may be banished from between us, if any such have been raised by the acts of wicked men, with the object of destroying the close friendship which we enjoyed in our earlier years...."

² It was said that Edward Dyer was in the secret of Leicester's love-affair. Douglas subsequently married Sir Edward Stafford. Her son was named Robert Dudley after his father. She already had a son and a daughter (who married the Earl of Ormond) by her first husband, Lord Sheffield.

Document 18

NOTES ON COLONISATION BY RICHARD HAKLUYT, Lawyer,¹ 1578

Notes framed by a Gentleman heretofore to bee given to one that prepared for a discoverie, and went not: And not unfitt to be committed to print, considering the same may stirre up considerations of these and such other thinges, not unmeete in such new voyages as may be attempted hereafter.²

That the first Seate be chosen on y^e seaside so as (if it may be) you may have your owne Navie within Bay, river or lake, within your seat safe from the enemie. And so as the enemie shalbe forced to lie in open rode abroad without, to be dispersed with all windes and tempests that shall arise. Thus seated you shall bee least subjecte to annoy of the enemie, so may you by your Navie within, passe out to all partes of the worlde, and so may the shippes of Englande have accesse to you to supply all wantes, so

¹ These notes were intended for Gilbert's voyage, under his colonising patent. Extraordinarily conflicting rumours as to Sir Humfrey's objective were current. The Spanish Ambassador Mendoza arrived in England in March 1578, to see what Frobisher was about. Early in May he learned that one Stockwell was leaving for a certain island he had discovered, or perhaps to rob the Plate fleet. A week later the rumour was that Gilbert and Sir Henry Knollys had their ships lying in the Thames, ready to go with Stockwell. Mendoza believed, however, that their real objective was Santa Genela (?), and Gilbert was therefore taking with him a Chaldean "versed in that navigation and language". Could this be the Ninevite, Scander, or Alexander Simon, who had visited Dee in April 1577, and who claimed to be a victim of the Inquisition? Early in June it was said that Simon Fernandez, "a great rogue who knows that coast well", would sail with Gilbert and Stockwell, and ten days later Mendoza heard that Captain Cox, who brought back the survivors of Andrew Barker's piratical voyage to the Indies (among the Cimarrones) hoped to be of their company. The Ambassador therefore had this man watched, and in August reported that he had arranged for an English spy to make the voyage, having convinced himself that Gilbert was going on a plundering voyage to the Indies. Meanwhile John Dee was under the impression that the objective was Hochelaga on the St Lawrence, but in actual fact the ships never got farther than Irish waters (see *infra*, p. 135).

² Title used in the *Divers Voyages*, 1582.

may your commodities be caried away also. This seate is to bee chosen in temperate Climat, in sweete ayre, where you may possesse alwayes sweete water, wood, seacoles, or turfe, with fish, flesh, grayne, fruits, herbes and rootes, or so many of those, as may suffice very necessitie for the life of such as shall plant there. And for the possessing of mines of golde, of silver, copper, quicksilver, or of any such precious thing, the wantes of those needfull things may be supplied from some other place by sea, &c.

Stone to make Lyme of	} are to be looked for as
Slate stone to tyle withall	
or such clay as maketh tyle,	
Stone to wall withall if Brycke	
may not bee made,	
Timber for building easely to	} things without which
be conveied to the place,	
Reede to cover houses or such	
like, if tyle or slate be not.	} no Citie may bee made
	} nor people in civill sorte
	} be kept together.

The people there to plant and to continue are eyther to live without trafficke, or by trafficke and by trade of marchandize. If they shall live without sea trafficke, at the first they become naked by want of linen and wollen, and very miserable by infinite wantes that will otherwise ensue, and so will they be forced of them selves to depart, or els easely they will bee consumed by the Sps. by the Fr. or by the naturall inhabithantes of the cuntry, and so the interprice becomes reprochfull to our nation, and a lett to many other good purposes that may be taken in hande.¹

And by trade of marchandize they can not live, excepte the sea or the lande there may yeelde commoditie for commoditie. And therefore you ought to have most speciall regarde of that point, and so to plant, that the naturall commodities of the place and seate, may draw to you accesse of Navigation for the same, or that by your owne Navigation you may carie the same out, and fetch home the supplye of the wantes of the seate.

¹ The reference to the Spaniards and Frenchmen makes it clear that this advice was not written for Frobisher, who intended to leave some men to winter in the undiscovered North-West.

Such navigation so to bee employed, shall besides the supply of wantes, be able to encounter with forreyne force.

And for that in the ample vente of suche thinges as are brought to you out of engl. by sea, standeth a matter of great consequence, it behoveth that all humanitie and curtesie and much forbearing of revenge to the inland people be used, so shall you have firme amitie with your neyghbours, so shall you have their inland commodities to maintayne trafficke, and so shall you waxe rich and strong in force. Divers and severall commodities of the inland are not in great plentie to be brought to your handes, without the ayde of some portable or Navigable ryver, or ample lake, and therefore to have the helpe of such a one is most requisite: And so is it of effecte for the dispersing of your owne commodities in exchange into the inlandes.

Nothing is more to be indevoured with the Inland people then familiaritie. For so may you best discover al the naturall commodities of their countrey, and also all their wantes, all their strengthes, all their weaknesse, and with whom they are in warre, and with whom confederate in peace and amitie, &c. which knownen, you may woorke many great effectes of greatest consequence.

And in your planting the consideration of the climate and of the soyle bee matters that are to bee respected. For if it be so that you may let in the salt sea water, not mixed with the fresh into flattes, where the sunne is of the heate that it is at Rochell, in the Bay of portingale, or in Spaine, then may you procure a man of skill, and so you have wonne one noble commoditie for the fishing, and for trade of marchandize by making of Salt.

Or if the soyle and clymate bee such as may yeelde you the Grape as good as that at Burdeus, as that in Portingale, or as that about Sivil in Spaine, or that in the Ilands of the Canaries, then there resteth but a woorkeman to put in execution to make wines, and to dresse Resigns [raisins] of the sunne and other, &c.

Or if ye finde a soyle of the temperature of the South part of Spaine or Barbarie in the which you finde the Olif tree to growe: Then you may be assured of a noble marchandize for this realme, considering that our great trade of clothing doeth require oyle, and weying howe deere of late it is become by the vent they

have of that commoditie in the West Indies, and if you finde the wilde olif there it may be grafted.¹

Or if you can find the berrie of Cochenile with which we colour Stammelles,² or any Roote, Berrie, Fruite, wood or earth fitte for dying, you winne a notable thing fitt for our state of clothing. This Cochenile is naturall in the west Indies on that firme [Continent].³

Or if you have hides of beastes fitte for sole Lether, &c. It wilbe a marchandize right good, and the savages there yet can not tanne Lether after our kinde, yet excellently after their owne manner.

Or if the soyle shall yeelde Figges, Almondcs, Sugar Canes, Quinces, Orengecs, Lemons, Potatos,⁴ &c. there may arise some trade and trafficke by figges, almonds, sugar, marmelade, Sucket, &c.

Or if great woods bee founde, if they be of Cypres, chests may bee made, if they bee of some kinde of trees, pitch and tarre may be made, if they bee of some other then they may yeelde Rosin, Turpentine, &c. and al for trade and trafficke, and Caskes for wine and oyle may be made; likewise ships and houses, &c.

And because trafficke is a thing so materiall, I wish that great observation be taken what every soyle yeeldeth naturally, in what commoditie soever, and what it may be made to yeelde by indeavour, and to send us notice home,⁵ that thereuppon we may devise what meanes may be thought of to rayse trades.

Nowe admit that we might not be suffered by the savages to enjoy any whole countrey or any more then the scope of a Citie, yet if wee might enjoy trafficke and be assured of the same, wee might bee much inriched, our Navie might be increased, and a

¹ It is obvious that Hakluyt had a colony in lat. 35°-40° in mind. The growing wool manufacture in New Spain was a serious matter to England and olive oil had nearly trebled in price.

² A coarse linsey-woolsey, usually dyed red.

³ As Hawks related.

⁴ This suggests that the true potato was already known in England as a useful vegetable. Peckham, in his *Report* of 1583, mentions maize and potato roots as among the commodities of America.

⁵ The use of the first person plural suggests that Hakluyt is writing on behalf of a group of Gilbert's backers.

place of safetie might there be found, if change of religion or civill warres shoulde happen in this realme,¹ which are thinges of great benefite. But if we may injoy any large Territorie of apt soyle, we might so use the matter, as we should not depende upon Spaine for oyles, sacks, resignes, oranges, lemons, Spanish skinnies, &c. Nor uppon Fraunce for woad, baysalt, and gascoyne wines, nor on Estland for flaxe, pitch, tarre, mastes, &c. So we shoulde not so exhaust our treasure, and so exceedingly inriche our doubtfull friendes, as we doe, but should purchase the commodities that we want for halfe the treasure that now we do: but should by our owne industries and the benefits of the soile there cheapely purches oyles, wines, salt, fruits, pitch, tarre, flaxe, hempe, mastes, boordes, fishe, gold, silver, copper, tallowe, hides and many commodities: besides if there be no flatts to make salt on, if you have plentie of wood you may make it in sufficient quantitie for common uses at home there.²

If you can keepe a safe haven, although you have not the friendship of the neere neighbours, yet you may have trafficke by sea upon one shore or other, upon that firme in time to come, if not present.

If you finde great plenty of tymber on the shore side or upon any portable river, you were best to cut downe of the same the first wynter, to be seasoned for shippes, barkes, botes and houses.

And if neere such wood there be any river or brooke upon the which a sawing mill may be placed, it would doe great service, and therefore consideration woulde bee had of suche place.

And if such port & chosen place of setling were in possession and after fortified by art, although by y^e land side our Englishmen were kept in, and might not injoy any traffick with the next neighbours, nor any vittell: yet might they vittell themselves of fishe to serve verie necessitie, and enter into amitie with the enemies of their next neighbours, and so have vent of their marchandize of England & also have vittell, or by meanes here-upon to be used to force the next neighbours to amitie. And

¹ It was more than sixty years before such circumstances occurred to send men to the colonies but English Catholics hoped to find refuge in Gilbert's colony.

² Economic nationalism attracted the lawyer.

keeping a navie at the setling place, they shoulde finde out along the tracte of the lande to have trafficke, and at divers Ilandes also. And so this first seate might in time become a stapling place of the commodities of many countreys and territories, and in tyme this place myght become of all the provinces round about the only governour. And if the place first chosen should not so wel please our people, as some other more lately found out: There might bee an easie remove, and that might be rased, or rather kept for others of our nation to avoyde an ill neyghbour, etc.

If the soyles adjoyning to such convenient haven and setling places be found marshie and boggie, then men skilful in draining are to be caried thither. For arte may worke wonderfull effectes therein, and make the soyle rich for many uses.

To plant uppon an Ilande in the mouth of some notable river, or upon the poynt of the lande entring into the river, if no such Iland be, were to great ende. For if such river were navigable or portable farre into the land, then would arise great hope of planting in fertil soyles, and trafficke on the one or on thother side of the river, or on both, or the linking in amitie with one or other petie king contending there for dominion.

Such rivers found, both barges and boates may bee made for the safe passage of such as shall perce y^e same. These are to bee covered with doubles of course linnen artificially wrought, to defend the arrow or the dart of the savage from the rower.¹

Since every soyle of the world by arte may be made to yeelde things to feede and to cloth man, bring in your returne a perfect note of the soyle without and within, and we shall devise if neede require to amende the same, and to draw it to more perfection. And if you finde not fruits in your planting place to your liking, we shall in v. drifats furnish you with such kinds of plants to be caried thither y^e winter after your planting,² as shall the very next summer folowing, yeeld you some fruite, and the yere next following, as much as shal suffice a towne as bigge as Callice, and

¹ The younger Hakluyt ascribes this device to Roger Bodenham (see *infra*, p. 322).

² It was clearly expected that Gilbert would select and occupy a site early in 1578, to which supplies would be sent out before the end of the year.

that shortly after shall be able to yeelde you great store of strong durable good sider to drinke, and these trees shalbe able to increase you within lesse then vii yeres as many trees presently to beare, as may suffice the people of diuers parishes,¹ which at the first setling may stand you in great steade, if the soyle have not the commoditie of fruites of goodnesse already. And because you ought greedily to hunt after thinges that yeelde present reliefe, without trouble of cariage thither, therefore I make mencion of these, thus specially, to the ende you may have it specially in mynde.

Document 19

ITALIAN NEWS LETTER FROM ROME, 1578

... Although it has been said more than once that the preparations made by the King of Portugal, though ostensibly against Africa were in truth designed against the Queen of England, little credence is given thereto, since it is well known how many fleets have without combat been undone by the exceeding great natural strength of that island, aided by the rapid fall of the tides: nevertheless there is now a resurgence of the rumour that the preparations are to this end, and that the confederates are the Pope, the Catholic King [Philip II], the King of Portugal and the Grand Duke of Tuscany.² ... 12 July 1578.

¹ As a Herefordshire landowner, Hakluyt was an authority on cider-apples.

² "The fatal end of Don Sebastian [King of Portugal, who fell in Africa in the month of August] diverted the Spaniards mind from the invasion of England to the hope of the Kingdome of Portugall." (Camden's *Annals*, 1578.)

Document 20

LETTER FROM ANTHONY PARKHURST, 1577-8

Right worshipfull, I have byn bold to send yow certain nootes tutchynge the newe founde land, the rather for that I perceived, at my last beyng with yow at the corte, by yo^r rejoysyng hart, what joy yo^{we} conceived to here any thyng that might benefyt yo^r cuntry. And then weying the redynesse of yo^r good nature, so prest to further sutch matter by sygnyfyinge the same to the grave counsellors of this land,¹ w^{ch} study continually nothyng more than gods honor and the proffyt of ther cuntrye, happely yowe beyng ofte tymes amonge them, may in some ower informe them what yowe hard, and what possybyltye there is in tyme to come to be rypte by that land, yf yt wer inhabyted.

Then dowte I not but among many informacions and notes made by me, and other sutch travellers that for lacke of power can but wysshe well to the common welthe, and for our partes be redy to put downe matter whereon ther fyne wyttes may some tymes work uppon, and then owt there of to chose some one thyng among many, fyt to take in hand for the commodity of our Land.

1. For first and chefest I holde our trade of fysshynge, w^{ch} might be made twyse, ye[a] thryse, as good as yet yt ys, w^{ch} thanked be god ys well amended within v yeres, from iiij sayle of small barkes to fortye, whereof the one halfe ar worthy shippes, so that I dare be bolde to affirme to bryng home as mutche fysshe in some one of these as all the navy did before.

2. Nowe for yf this cuntry wer inhabyted, we might make salt ther mutch more cheper than in Inglond, for that owr wood and the caryage (that makes yt dere) would be saved.² And possible not far thense to fynde some apte place to make salt, with the helpe of the sonne as in france and spayne, for the clyme will

¹ Edward Dyer may be the person addressed. Just at this time he was acting as intermediary between John Dee and the Privy Council in advocating British expansion.

² The problem of cheap salt frequently occupied the lawyer Hakluyt's mind.

permyt. And I thyncke that aboute cape bryttayne, beynge fenced from the cold ayer of the Ise by cape race, to fynde yt very warme, as at rotchell.¹

3. Our salt beynge saved, w^{ch} stands us more then the vittels and all that we cary, we might not only sell thynges better chepe, but mighte make grete store of dry fysshe wth the bryne y^t here is cast away. So might we save halfe the salt we spend, and make twyce as mutch dry fysshe as we do.

4. We shold further more, yf this land wer inhabyted, kepe people fysshynge halfe the yere and busyed in the makynge thereof, where as now not past ii moneths: ffor ther would be saved the tyme we spend in makynge our botes and stages. In grabbynge of botes. In makynge of flakes² and other dryinge places.

5. We should also provide in every harborow sutche mete places for dry fysshe that we myght make twyce as mutche as we do, and that with lesse payne, in halfe the tyme, and with halfe the men, w^{ch} truly ys matter of greate importance.

6. Nowe will I showe yowe howe mutche this voyage ys to be preferred before a spanyshe viage or other cuntries. In primis, they cary forthe nether ware nor mony, nether spend they abroad halfe the vyttels that at home they woulde, and yet brynge they home greate store of fysshe, suffycient to serve our realme and others from whence with yt we brynge home rytche commoditye.

7. It also increseth the navy, good maryners, good fysshermen, and that w^{ch} moste strange ys, yt maketh them honest, ritche and good husbonds, againste ther onlie custome w^{ch} seldome they brake unless by constraunt. Thes men as I saide are honest, for that they fynd not in this country wyne nor women. They wex welthy, for that thier shares ys worthe thre tymes the waiges they have for france, spayne or denmarke. Nether spend they that abroad, or they cum home as in other viages. Thus can their wyves, chyldren, servantes and credytors wytnes wth me the swetenes and proffyt of this viage.

¹ Bay salt was imported into England from Rochelle. It was used in bulk by fishermen to salt down their catch.

² Stages for drying fish.

8. It also spareth mutche flesshe in this realme and especially in thos partes from whence thes shippes are set forth. The poverty¹ there greatly refresshed, and mutche by that trade set on worke (over longe to declare). So that the povertye together with the clargy do pray for the prosperus successe of these fysshermen. And I am well assured so doth the gentry, for they all have some proffyt as yowe shall know more at large when I cum next to London,² especyally the power hospytalls and the povertye of thos shiers and portes from whence thes shippes be. For ther is given out of every mans share, and of the shippes parte, and also the vyttellers at the least xiid. uppon every syngell share, w^{ch} may amounte out of a tall shippe to the valewe of x li., besyde the broken fysshe, w^{ch} is no small quantity, at the least ii or thre thousand, w^{ch} may be worthe xx li. or xxx li. yf yt were sale abell,³ and yet as good to eate as the hole.

9. Farther more yowe shall understand that by this viage a greate number of cuntry people, and of all sortes of occupacyons that cannot lyve, ar by thes meanes made good maryners and fysshermen, and that in one viage.

10. Also mo men set on worke in shippes of equal burden by one halfe then ys to france, spayne and denmarke, for a ship bownde to france requyryng forty men, hathe nede of fower score to the new founde on fysshynge fare. And yf xx^{ti} of thes be good maryners, they shall be abell to conducte the shippe, and make the rest that never wer on see resonable good maryners and fysshermen or they cum home.

11. More over yowe shall understand that thes men that travell thether kepe a longe lent of halfe one yere, and spare mutche drynke and vytteles that at home and in other cuntrys they would wantonly wast. Lyvyng now by fysshe, sower bere, bysket, bad syder and that more then halfe myngeled wth water.

12. Nowe shal yowe understand what other cōmodytes may growe by that cuntrye more then hitherto we have had. Chefely

¹ Poor people.

² Parkhurst presumably was writing from Bristol whence he wrote to Hakluyt (Doc. 21).

³ Cod fish must therefore have been sold at five for a shilling.

above all other the kyllynge of wale,¹ w^{ch} woulde be one of the rytchest trades in the worlde, as the bascons² knowe right well, that use that trade only.

Also there might be had towarde the navy greate aboundance of mastes, yarges, plancke, dele borde, turpentyne, rosin, pytche, tar.

There is also in thes lande grete store of dere, hares, brefylles, beares, foxes, wolves, lybards,³ otters, sables and martyns. There groweth roses as common as here bryars. So doth ther of raspes, of hurtes, strawberryes and dewberryes, wth many other strange beryes.

13. Also ther might be had greate store of Iron, for there is plenty of the myne, and of alder and berche mete for cole, the chefest charge, so ys ther trym ryvers for yowr iron mylles and for sawynge mylles for yo^r planckes and bordes.⁴

14. There might also be incresed greate plenty of all kyndes of cattell in a shorte tyme, as by example of the Spanyards in the West Indes, w^{ch} sence ther cummynge thether have had sutche increase of thos they caryed thether, that I have seen ther one meane man, named lazarus besherano, in the ile of curazao, to have a greter number of beefes then ever I saw or herd any in Ingland to have of shepe.⁵ So have they there of horse and excellent Junettes,⁶ w^{ch} for ther skynes they kyll in grete number. What might ther be thoughte the increase of swyne would be in this cuntry, so nere to us in respecte of⁷ thos partes of the west Indes. Thes have yonge thryse in the yere and most tymes xiiij, xv or xvi. Thes and conyes would in small tyme multiplye to a number infynyte.

15. There is to this land sutch plenty of fysshe and foule that how many so ever went thether shoulde not nede to kyll any of ther cattell they cary for store. They only nede bred and dryncke for one yere or twayne tyll the grounde may be sowen, w^{ch} in

¹ Whale.

² Basques. They provided train-oil for the English and other markets.

³ Leopards, *i.e.* probably lynx.

⁴ These natural resources of Newfoundland had to wait four centuries for development.

⁵ This was when Parkhurst sailed with Hawkins on his second slaving voyage.

⁶ Jennets.

⁷ 'By comparison with.'

most places is apte for all kynde of corne, as I have made parte tryall.

Pees growe there naturally on the rockes and beeches, pasture plentyfull and good, for there groweth the clover grasse and hony suckell¹ both whyte and red.

This cuntry is habytale and at all tymes of the yere passable as I wyll prove at large by probabell reasons at my next cummyng. Thus I commyt you to almyghte god, trustynge shortly to make yo^r worship better acquaynted wth newland matters.

Yours for ever

Anthony Parkhurst

Document 21.

LETTER FROM ANTHONY PARKHURST TO RICHARD HAKLUYT, Lawyer, 1578

A letter written to M. RICHARD HAKLUYT of the middle Temple, containing a report of the true state and commodities of Newfoundland, by M. ANTHONIE PARKHURST Gentleman, 1578.

Master Hakluyt, after most heartie commendations, with like thanks for your manifold kindnesse to me shewed, not for any merits that hitherto have beene mine, but wholly proceeding, I must needs confesse, of your owne good nature, which is so ready prest to benefit your countrey and al such poore men as have any sparke in them of good desires, that you do not onely become their friend, but also humble your selfe as servant in their affaires: for which I would to God I were once in place where I might cause your burning zeale to bee knowen to those that have authoritie, power, and abilitie to recompence your travelling mind and pen,² wherewith you cease not day nor night

¹ Clover.

² This phrase suggests that the pamphlet written for Gilbert was not the first or only one from Hakluyt's pen at this date.

to labour and travell to bring your good and godly desires to some passe, though not possibly to that happy ende that you most thirst for: for such is the malice of wicked men, the divels instruments in this our age, that they cannot suffer any thing (or at least few) to proceed and prosper, that tendeth to the setting forth of Gods glory, and the amplifying of the Christian faith, wherein hitherto princes have not bene so diligent as their calling required. Alas, the labourers as yet are few, the harvest great, I trust God hath made you an instrument to increase the number, and to moove men of power, to redeeme the people of Newfoundland and those parts from out of the captivitie of that spirituall Pharao, the divell.

Now to answer some part of your letter¹ touching the sundry navies that come to New found land, or Terra nova, for fish: you shall understand that some fish not neere the other by 200. leagues, and therefore the certaintie is not knowen; and some yeeres come many more then other some, as I see the like among us: who since my first travell being but 4. yeeres, are increased from 30. sayle to 50.² which commeth to passe chiefly by the imagination of the Westerne men, who thinke their neighbours have had greater gaines then in very deed they have, for that they see me to take such paines yeerely to go in proper person, they also suppose that I find some secret commoditie by reason that I doe search the harbors, creekes and havens, and also the land much more then ever any Englishman hath done. Surely I am glad that it so increaseth, whereof soever it springeth. But to let this passe, you shall understand that I am informed that there are above 100. saile of Spaniards that come to take Cod (who make all wet, and do drie it when they come home) besides 20. or 30. more that come from Biskaie, to kill Whale for traine. These be better appoynted for shipping and furniture of munition, then any nation, saving the Englishmen, who commonly are lordes of the harbors where they fish, and do use all strangers helpe in fishing if need require, according to an old custome of the countrey, which thing they do willingly, so that

¹ Probably written early in the year.

² If Parkhurst's figures are accurate his fourth voyage was later, perhaps by one year, than that in which he found forty English ships (see *supra*, p. 123). He was in Newfoundland in 1575, 1576, 1577 and 1578.

you take nothing from them more then a boat¹ or twaine of salt, in respect of your protection of them against rovers or other violent intruders, who do often put them from good harbor, &c. As touching their tunnage, I thinke it may be well neere five or sixe thousand: but of Portingals there are not lightly above 50. saile, and they make all wet in like sorte, whose tunnage may amount to three thousand tunnes, and not upwarde. Of the French nation and Brittons, are about one hundred and fiftie sailes, the moste of their shipping is very small, not past fortie tunne, among which some are great and reasonably well appointed, better then the Portingals, and not so well as the Spaniards, and the burden of them may be some 7000. tunne. Their shipping is from all parts of France and Britaine [Brittany], and the Spaniards from most parts of Spaine, the Portingals from Aviero and Viana, and from 2. or 3. portes more. The trade that our nation hath to Island [Iceland], maketh that the English are not there in such numbers as other nations.

Now to certifie you of the fertilitie and goodnesse of the countrey, you shall understand that I have in sundry places sown Wheate, Barlie, Rie, Oates, Beanes, Pease and seedes of herbes, kernels, plumstones, nuts, all which have prospered as in England.² The countrey yeeldeth many good trees of fruit, as Filberds in some places, but in all places Cherie trees, and a kind of Pearetree meet to graffe on. As for Roses, they are as common as Brambles here: Strawberies, Dewberies, and Raspis, as common as grasse. The timber is most Firre, yet plentie of Pineapple³ trees: fewe of these two kinds meete to maste a ship of threescore and ten: but neere the grand baie or Cape Briton, big and sufficient for any ship. There bee also Okes & thornes, there is in all the countrey plentie of Birch and Alder, which be the meetest wood for cole,⁴ and also Willow, which will serve for many other purposes. As touching the kindes of fish beside Cod, there are Herrings, Salmons, Thornebacke, Plase, or rather wee should call them Flounders, Dog fish, and another most excellent of taste called of us a Cat, Oisters, and Muskles,

¹ See *infra*, p. 133. The Portuguese failed to deliver the salt claimed by Parkhurst, and he lost the season's fishing.

² This again suggests longer experience than in the previous letter.

³ Pine.

⁴ Charcoal.

in which I have found pearles above 40. in one Muskle, and generally all have some, great or small. I heard of a Portugall that found one woorth 300. duckets: There are also other kinds of Shel-fish, as limpets, cockles, wilkes, lobsters, and crabs: also a fish like a Smelt¹ which commeth on shore, and another that hath the like propertie, called a Squid: these be the fishes, which (when I please to bee merie with my old companions) I say, doe come on shore when I commaund them in the name of the 5. ports,² and conjure them by such like words: These also bee the fishes which I may sweepe with broomes on a heape, and never wet my foote, onely pronouncing two or three wordes whatsoever they be appointed by any man, so they heare my voyce: the vertue of the wordes bee small, but the nature of the fish great and strange. For the Squid, whose nature is to come by night as well as by day, I tell them. I set him a candle to see his way, with which he is much delighted, or els commeth to wonder at it, as doe our fresh water fish, the other commeth also in the night, but chiefly in the day, being forced by the Cod that would devour him, and therefore for feare comming so neere the shore, is driven drie by the surge of the Sea on the pibble and sands. Of these being as good as a Smelt, you may take up with a shove net, as plentifully as you do Wheate in a shovell, sufficient in three or foure houres for a whole Citie. There be also other fishes which I tell those that are desirous of strange newes that I take as fast as one would gather up stones, and them I take with a long pole and hooke. Yea marrie say they, wee beleeeve so, and that you catch all the rest you bring home in that sort, from Portingals and Frenchmen. No surely, but thus I doe: with three hookes stretched foorth in the ende of a pole, I make as it were an Eele speare, with which I pricke those Flounders as fast as you would take up fritters, with a sharpe pointed sticke, and with that toole I may take up in lesse then halfe a day Lobsters sufficient to finde three hundred men for a dayes meate. This pastime ended, I shewe them that for my pleasure I take a great Mastive I have, and say no more then thus: Goe fetch me

¹ "Called by the Spaniards Anchovas, and by the Portingales Capelinas" is the younger Hakluyt's marginal note.

² Cinque Ports: Parkhurst was a Kentish man.

this rebellious fish that obeyeth not this Gentleman that cometh from Kent and Christendome, bringing them to the high water marke, and when hee doubteth that any of those great Coddess by reason of shelving ground bee like to tumble into the Sea againe, hee will warily take heede and carrie him up backe to the heape of his fellowes. This doeth cause my friendes to wonder, and at the first hearing to judge them notorious lies, but they laugh and are merie when they heare the meanes howe each tale is true.

I tolde you once I doe remember how in my travell into Affrica and America,¹ I found trees that bare Oisters, which was strange to you, till I tolde you that their boughes hung in the water, on which both Oisters and Muskles did sticke fast, as their propertie is to stakes and timber.

Nowe to let these merie tales passe, and to come to earnest matters againe, you shall understand, that New found land is in a temperate Climate, and not so colde as foolish Mariners doe say, who finde it colde sometimes when plentie of Isles of Ice lie neere the shore: but up in the land they shall finde it hotter then in England in many parts of the countrey toward the South. This colde commeth by an accidentall meanes, as by the Ice that commeth fleeting from the North partes of the worlde, and not by the situation of the countrey, or nature of the Climate.² The countrey is full of little small rivers all the yeere long proceeding from the mountaines, ingendred both of snow and raine: few springs that ever I could finde or heare of, except it bee towards the South: in some places or rather in most places, great lakes with plentie of fish, the countrey most covered with woods of firre, yet in many places indifferent good grasse, and plentie of Beares every where, so that you may kill of them as oft as you list: their flesh is as good as yong beefe, and hardly you may know the one from the other, if it be poudred³ but two dayes. Of Otters we may take like store. There are Sea Guls, Murres,⁴ Duckes, wild geese, and many other kind of birdes store, too long to write, especially at one Island named Penguin, where wee

¹ With Hawkins. Parkhurst and Hakluyt are clearly friends of long standing.

² Here Parkhurst shows a clear knowledge of climatic factors.

³ Sprinkled with salt or spice.

⁴ Auks.

may drive them on a planke into our ship as many as shall lade her. These birdes are also called Penguins, and cannot flie, there is more meate in one of these then in a goose: the Frenchmen that fish neere the grand baie, doe bring small store of flesh with them, but victuall themselves alwayes with these birdes. Nowe againe, for Venison plentie, especially to the North about the grand baie, and in the South neere Cape Race, and Plesance: there are many other kinds of beasts, as Luzarnes¹ and other mighty beastes like to Camels in greatnesse, and their feete cloven,² I did see them farre off not able to discerne them perfectly, but their steps shewed that their feete were cloven, and bigger then the feete of Camels, I suppose them to bee a kind of Buffes which I read to bee in the countreyes adjacent, and very many in the firme land. There bee also to the Northwards, Hares and Foxes in all parts so plentifully, that at noone dayes they take away our flesh before our faces, within lesse then halfe a paire of buts length, where foure and twentie persons were turning of drie fish, and two dogges in sight, yet stooode they not in feare till wee gave shot and set the dogges upon them: the Beares be also as bold, which will not spare at middaie to take your fish before your face, and I beleeve assuredly would not hurt any bodie unlesse they be forced.

Nowe to shew you my fansie what places I suppose meetest to inhabite in those parts discovered of late by our nation: There is neere about the mouth of the grand baie, an excellent harbour called of the Frenchmen Chasteaux, and one Island in the very entrie of the streight called Bell Isle, which places if they be peopled and well fortified (as there are stones and things meete for it throughout all New found land) we shall bee lordes of the whole fishing in small time, if it doe so please the Queenes majestie,³ and from thence send wood and cole with all necessities to Laborador lately discovered: but I am of opinion, and doe most stedfastly beleieve that we shall finde as rich Mines⁴ in

¹ Lynx, the 'lybards' of his earlier letter (*supra*, p. 126).

² Elk, the 'brefylls' or 'bufylls' of his earlier letter (*supra*, p. 126).

³ The route to the St Lawrence River by Belle Isle Strait is shorter by nearly 250 miles than that through the Gulf. Château Bay is on the Labrador side of the strait. Parkhurst's knowledge is very exact.

⁴ *I.e.* as Frobisher's.

more temperate places and Climates, and more profitable for fishing then any yet we have used, where wee shall have not farre from thence plentie of salt made by fire undoubtedly, and very likely by the heate of the Sunne, by reason I finde salt kernal on the rockes in nine and fortie and better: these places may bee found for salte in three and fortie.¹ I know more touching these two commodities last remembred, then any man of our nation doth; for that I have some knowledge in such matters, and have most desired the finding of them by painefull travaile, and most diligent inquirie. Now to be short, for I have bene over long by master Butlers² means, who cryed on mee to write at large, and of as many things as I call to minde woorthy of remembraunce: wherefore this one thing more. I could wish the Island in the mouth of the river of Canada,³ should bee inhabited, and the river searched, for that there are many things which may rise thereof, as I will shew you hereafter. I could find in my heart to make prooffe whether it be true or no that I have read and heard of Frenchmen and Portingals to bee in that river, and about Cape Britton. I had almost forgot to speake of the plentie of wolves, and to shew you that there be Foxes, blacke, white & gray: other beasts I know none save those before remembred. I found also certain Mines of iron and copper in S. Johns, and in the Island of Iron, which things might turne to our great benefite, if our men had desire to plant thereabout, for prooffe whereof I have brought home some of the oare of both sortes. And thus I ende, assuring you on my faith, that if I had not beene deceived by the vile Portingals, descending of the Jewes and Judas kinde, I had not fayled to have searched this river, and all the coast of Cape Britton, what might have bene found to have benefited our countrey: but they breaking their bands, and falsifying their faith and promise, disappointed me of the salte they should have brought me in part of recompense of my good service in defending them two yeeres against French Rovers that had spoyled them, if I had not defended them.

By meanes whereof they made me loose not onely the search-

¹ 43° lat.

² Butler commanded Raleigh's ship in Gilbert's fleet of 1583. On a plea of sickness among the crew, the vessel turned back in the Channel.

³ Anticosti, formerly Ascension.

ing of the countrey, but also forced mee to come home with great losse above 600. li. For recompence whereof I have sent my man into Portingall to demaund justice at the kings hand, if not, I must put up my supplication to the Queenes Majestie & her honourable counsell, to grant me leave to stay here so much of their goods as they have damnified mee, or else that I may take of them in New found land, as much fish as shall be woorth 600. li. or as much as the salte might have made. I pray you advertise mee what way I were best to take, and what hope there may bee of a recompence if I follow the suite:¹ many there are that doe comfort mee, and doe bid mee proceede, for that her Majestie and the counsell doe tender poore fisher men, who with me have sustained three hundred pound losse in that voyage. And to conclude, if you and your friend² shall thinke me a man sufficient and of credite, to seeke the Isle of S. John, or the river of Canada,³ with any part of the firme land of Cape Britton, I shall give my diligence for the true and perfect discoverie, and leave some part of mine owne businesse to further the same: and thus I end, committing you to God. From Bristow the 13. of November, 1578.

Yours to use and command

Anthony Parkhurst

¹ Here the lawyer is consulted professionally.

² Possibly Gilbert or Sir George Peckham. Parkhurst had evidently been asked to make a special reconnaissance.

³ St Lawrence.

Document 22

LETTER FROM SIR HUMFREY GILBERT TO SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM, 1578¹

Sr, As in my former letters I advertised yo^r hono^r by what strange accident Mr Knoles left the service he undertook wth me before her Ma^{tie}, moved by such trifles as (under yo^r hono^{rs} correction) were meter to brake amitie among childeren then men. So bycause I do waye in equall balance wth life yo^r hono^{rs} good opinion of me, I thought it good to send yo^r hono^r this certifycat, under the Maiors hand of Plymouth, and others of her Ma^{ties} servants and captaynes who were present when I publicly desired Mr Knoles to declare all the causes that moved hym to mislike. All w^{ch} he did or could allege are particularly set downe in the said certifycat, comitting myself upon the sight thereof to be judged, as the thyng itself shal gyve cause. But truly I can gesse noe other but that his pretence was to brake from the bygynninge, and ranne this course thereby to have color to arme to sea. And there wth all either to learne my enterprise and so to undertake the discovery of hymself, as one moved thereunto through ambicion and disdayn, either els to runne some shorter course, w^{ch} I wishe to prove mete for his callinge.

I most humbly beseche yo^r hono^r to ymparte this certifiat to the Queenes Ma^{tie}, my lord of Leicester, and Mr Vicechamberlayne,² wth suche other as to yo^r hono^r shall seme good. But my principall care is to satisfie you above all other, by cause yo^r hono^r was the only meanes of my lycence. And therefore as my patron I studie principallie, next unto her Ma^{tie}, to mayntayn myselfe in yo^r good opynyon, whom I my selfe will honor and serve during life, no man more. And I trust, God willinge, to bringe althinges to good passe, this crosses and thwarts not wth standinge.

¹ The letter is inserted as helping to explain why the careful planning of men like the elder Hakluyt came to naught.

² Christopher Hatton.

More over my cousin Deny doth accompany Mr Knoles¹ in this his breche and retirement from our consorte. The cause of my cousin denys departure was only for that I blamed hym for striken of a sayler wth his naked sworde, who had not his wepon drawne, desiring hym to leve quarrelling, for that it was a thinge very unwise for this jorney: and if he left it not I judge hym not fitt for the viage. Whereuppon he very outrageously and wth very unsemely termes abused me, in not only challengynge me, but also in dispitfull manner defyenge me, w^{ch} I thought to be hardly done, consideringe I hold the place of a Justice of pece in this countrey. And thus yo^r hono^r hath thoccasion also of this his brech, wherein if I have enformed yo^r hono^r otherwise then the truthe, then judge me a villayne and a knave; ffor better accompte I judge noe man worthe that shal be founde unjuste in worde or dede. And this I hold for my best tryall.

And soe I humbly committ yo^r hono^r to God, wth my dutiful comēdacions to my good Lady.

Plymouth the xviith of November 1578.

Yo^r hono^{rs} humble and most assured to comānde

H. Gylberte

¹ According to H.C.A. 13, No. 24, Knollys took a French prize, the *Armine* of Brest, on his way to join Gilbert from Bristol. After leaving the latter as described above he sent his own ship home and cruised the Channel in his prize on the look out for further booty.

Document 23

NOTES ON DYESTUFFS BY RICHARD HAKLUYT, Lawyer, 1579

Certaine directions given by Master RICHARD HACKLUYT of the middle Temple, to Master MORGAN HUBBLETHORNE, Dyer, sent into Persia, 1579.

1 For that England hath the best wooll, & cloth of the world, and for that the clothes of the Realme have no good vent, if good dying be not added: therefore it is much to be wished, that the dying of forren Countreies were seene, to the ende that the arte of dying may be brought into the Realme in greatest excellencie: for thereof will follow honour to the Realme, and great and ample vent of our clothes: and of the vent of clothes, will follow the setting of our poore on worke, in all degrees of labour in clothing and dying: for which cause most principally, you are sent over, at the charge of the Citie: and therefore for the satisfying the Lordes, and of the expectation of the Merchants and of your companie,¹ it behooves you to have care to returne home with more knowledge, then you caried out.

2 The great dearth of clothes is a great let in the ample vent of clothes, and the price of a cloth, for a fifth, sixth, and seventh part riseth by the colour and dying: and therefore to devise to dye as good colours with the one halfe of the present price, were to the great commodity of the Realme, by saving of great treasure in time to come. And therefore you must have great care to have knowledge of the materials of all the Countreis that you shall passe through, that may be used in dying, be they hearbes, weedes, barks, gummes, earths, or what els soever.

3 In Persia you shall finde carpets of course thrommed² wooll, the best of the worlde, and excellently coloured: those Cities & Townes you must repaire to, and you must use meanes to learne all the order of the dying of those thrommes, which are so, died

¹ *I.e.* the Dyers' Company.

² With small tufts, or with a raised pile.

as neither raine, wine, nor yet vineger, can staine: and if you may attaine to that cunning, you shall not need to feare dying of cloth. For if the colour holde in yarne, and thromme, it will holde much better in cloth.

4 For that in Persia, they have great colouring of silkes, it behooves you to learne that also, for that cloth dying, & silke dying, have a certaine affinitie, and your Merchants mind to bring much raw silke into the Realme, and therefore it is more requisite you learne the same.

5 In Persia, there are that steine linnen cloth: it is not amisse you learne it, if you can: it hath bene an olde trade in England, whereof some excellent clothes yet remaine: but the arte is now lost, and not to be found in the Realme.

6 They have a cunning in Persia, to make in Buskins¹ of Spanish leather, flowers of many kindes in most lively colours, and these the Courtiers do weare there, to learne which arte were no harme.

7 If any Dier of China, or of the East partes of the world, be to be found in Persia, acquaint your selfe with him, and learne what you may of him.

8 You shall finde Anyle² there, if you can procure the herbe, that it is made of either by seede or by plant, to cary into England, you may doe well to endeavour to enrich your Countrey with the same: but withall learne you the making of the Anyle, and if you can get the hearbe, you may send the same drye into England, for possibly it groweth here already.

9 Returne home with you all the materials and substances, that they die with all in Russia, and also in Persia, that your companie may see all.

10 In some litle pot in your lodging, I wish you to make daily trials in your arte, as you shall from time to time learne ought among them.

11 Set downe in writing whatsoever you shall learne from day to day, lest you should forget, or lest God should call you to his mercie: and by each returne I wish you sende in writing whatsoever you have learned, or at the least keepe the same safe in your coffer, that come death, or life, your Countrey may enjoy

¹ High boots.

² Indigo.

The main engine (not this port wine engine) purchased from the
first owners of the fortification to be made at the same
time as the other oil type for weight.

And I'm in just as much a hurry to get to the office as you are to get to the office.

[illegible]

the thing that you goe for, and not lose the charge, and travell bestowed in this case.

12 Learne you there to fixe, and make sure the colour to be given by logge wood: so shall we not need to buy oade so deere, to the enriching of our enemies.¹

13 Enquire of the price of Leckar,² and of all other things belonging to dying.

14 In any wise set downe in writing a true note, from whence every of them doe come, and where, and in what Countrey each of them doth growe, I meane where the naturall place of each of them is, as how neere to such a Citie, or to such a Sea, or to such a portable River in Russia, Persia, or elsewhere.

15 If before your returne you could procure a singular good workeman, in the arte of Turkish carpet making, you should bring the arte into this Realme, and also thereby increase worke to your company.³

Document 24

A PAMPHLET BY RICHARD HAKLUYT THE YOUNGER, 1579-80

A DISCOURSE OF THE COMMODITY OF THE TAK- ING OF THE STRAIGHT OF MAGELLANUS

The perill that may ensue to all Princes of Europe yf the King of Spain be suffered to enjoy Portugalle with the East Indies is [soche as is] not on sodden to be set downe, but is a matter of greate and [grave] consideracion. And because the matter requyreth present consideracion without delaye, of many wayes, 3 principall there be [that without] great charge and without

¹ Logwood, like woad, yielded a blue dye. Woad was imported from Bordeaux and from the Azores.

² Lacquer.

³ The journey lasted from June 1579 to September 1581, but owing to the wars between the Persians and the Turks the party never got beyond Baku and Derbent. They were able to purchase forty-eight bales of raw silk.

open war may worke [mervelous] effecte in this case of mischiefe, and the soddaine death of the Russian.¹ Which are these (for of ayde to be given to the Portugall nacion I meene not to write).

And before I disclose what the 3 be, it is not altogether [unapte] to the matter that I tell you, that yf the East and West Indies fall to Spaine, and Portugal [also], that from thenceforth [he will] nether desire to have anie commoditie of England, nor yet anie commoditie of his owne in England, having so many commodities and several Territories to make enterchange of the severall commodities etc.

1. That the Straight of Magellanus be taken and fortified, inhabited and kept.
2. That the Isle of S. Vincent in Brasill, and the soyle adjoining be taken and kept.
3. That the northeast trade be discovered with all spede, and drawen to trade.

A shewe how the straight may be with small charges manned, fortified and victualled, and kept against all the force of Spayne.

The Str of Magellane is the gate of entry into the tresure of both the East and the West Indies. And whosoever is Lord of this Straight may account himselfe Lord also of the West Indies, soe it may be used.

The greatest Navie in the worlde may moste safelie and moste quietly lye and harbour in this Strait, in all wethers and in all seasons of the yere. All the tract of America on Mar del Sur is voyde of fortification and of ordinaunce, and of navy of force, whereof followeth etc.

This Straight is founde to have grete plentie of wood on bothe sides. It hathe freshe water in the Ilands, as our men found at there being there. If it had not fresh water we have a devise of the sea water to make greate plentie.

The soyles adjoining to the straits have stagges and victuall,

¹ Ivan the Terrible had now reigned fifty years, but in point of fact he did not die until 1584. Cardinal Henry, King of Portugal, died Jan. 30, 1580.

as appereth by the raw fleshe offered by the savages at the Straits to our men. The Straits also have whales.

2. The Cape St. Vincent in Brasill, distant from the str. —leages.

The Iland of St. Vincent is easely to be wonne with — men, by meane it is nether manned nor fortified, and being wonne it is to be kept with — .

This Iland and the mayne adjoyning doth so abound with victual that it is able to victual infinite multitudes of people, as our people report that were there with Drake,¹ who had oxen, hogges, hennes, citrones, lymons, oranges etc.

Distant from the mouth of the strait is the Iland of St. Georges, which yeldeth fowle infinite, able to victuall armies. These flie not, and may esely be taken and eaten freshe or kept salte.²

These ilands will yelde plentie of grayne if they be sowed.

There yeldeth plentie of good fish within the straights as it is conjectured. But it is certaine that for the space of 40 myle in the strait towarde the South Sea there is easely to be gathered at the lowe water much grete and most delicate mussels, able to victuall a whole armie, as for ever.

The seales there be xv or xvi feete long, with which the people may be clothed, and the soyle will yeeld hempe and flaxe for lynnyn.³

There is a notable ryver without the mouthe of the Strayte full of dyvers kinds of good fysshe, in which river Magellan laye with his navie.

The rockes also have plenty of the fysh called lypittes, as broade as half orenge: of these and of the grete muskels did our men victuell.

There is in the Strait on both sides tymber for to build us howses and ships, more then maye be spent.

¹ There is no record that Drake victualled at St Vincent on his outward voyage, but Winter put in there on his return in 1579.

² Penguins.

³ The seals were met with on an island in the R. Plate, and not in the Strait, as appears from Cliffe's narrative, which Hakluyt published in the *Principal Navigations*.

To the Str. of Magellans may be sent Clerke the pyratt¹ uppon promise of pardon, and to culler the matter he may goo as of himselfe,² and not with the countenance of thenglish state, or some such man may be sent. He may have with him certain cast peeces of iron,³ for defense of the fortifications to be made at the narrowest part of the Straight. And he may have also a man skilfull in fortification, with platformes to be carried hence, fitt for that place.

The Capes or pointes on each side may be fortified with forts of raggstone and of erthe for the tyme, for possessing the passage of the strait and for defense against all attempts, against the savages and all other by land, till other further order may be taken therein.

Now to him that shall object that it shal not be enough to keepe [but two] pointes in the narrow of the Str., with out the keeping of the entry into the Strait bothe at thone and thother end, which are places one hundred and odde leges asunder; and to him that shal say that it requireth [no small] navie, nor no small charge, nor no small venter [of such as] shal goo about suche an enterprise, I answer that theeffect shall be wrought with grete ease in this sorte.

For the Symerones,⁴ a people detesting the prowde governance of the Spaniards, will easely be transported by Drake or others of our nation to the Straights, and there may be planted by hundreds or thowsands, how many as we shal require. And these shall easily be induced to live subject to the gentle government of the English and to be planted there for the defense of the Straights. And planting over them a few good English captens, and maintayning in the bayes of the Straighes a good navie, there is no doubt but that we shal make subjecte to England all the golden mines of Peru and all the coste and tract of that firme of America upon the Sea of Sur. And work the like effect on the hither side of that Firme. And for the Spanyard, bothe for his breeding in a hote region and for his delicacie in dyett and lodging, he shall not be able to endure in the coldness of that

¹ See *supra*, p. 17.

² To avoid diplomatic difficulties with Spain.

³ Iron ordnance.

⁴ Cimarrones.

climate of Strait. But the Symeron although borne in a hote region, yet by meane he has been bredde as a slave, in all toyle farre from delicacie, he shalbe able to endure the climate, and think himself a happy man when as by good provision he shal find himselfe plentifully fed, warmly clothed, and well lodged and by our nation made free from the tyrannous Spanyard, and quietly and courteously governed by our nation.

To these Symerons we may add condemned Englishe men and women, in whom there may be founde hope of amendement. And using policie we might enjoye those benefits as the Spaniards now do and of many yeares have.

But admit that we could not enjoye the same long, but that the English there would aspire to government of themselves, yet were it better that it sholde be soe then that the Spanyard shold with the tresure of that countrey torment all the contries of Europe with wars and practises as he hathe and will doo if it be not foreseen in time. But we myght kepe the cuntry as well as the Spanyards doe, and use traffique with them.

THE NORTH EAST STRAIGHT

Touching the north east straight, I say that whenever the rule and government of the East & West Indies, and there severall isles and territories shalbe in one Prince, they neither will receive English clothe nor yet care for anie vente of there commodities to us, having then so manie places of there owne to make vente and enterchange of ther commodities.

For the West Indies is a sufficient vent of all their wyne, oyle and of all ther wolles indraped.¹ In which respect and for that it is like that Spayne may (coming greter in Affrike) cut of our vent of clothe there. And for that by the deathe or tyranny of the Muscovite our vent of clothe in Russia and Persia may be also cut of, good policie wold, and good foresight requireth, that the discoverie of the north-east be taken in hand, not onlie for avoyding the grete intollerable mischeefe of lack of vent which

¹ The expansion of the Spanish trade with the West Indies and New Spain was held to be a factor in the decline of the Anglo-Spanish trade; cf. *supra*, p. 119 n.

may happe, but also to cut Spaine from the trade of the Spicerie, to the abating of hir navie, hir welthe and high credit in the worlde. In which respect a present consultation wolde be had, as well for choyce of vi or viii or x persons to be sent up along the coast eastward of St. Nicholas¹ toward the grete river of Ob, and to sever, and some to go to Kitay Lake,² and so southward, some others along the tract of the sea till they come to the civill nations, and all there to appoynt a certain returne of an advertisement backward, at a tyme and place certain.

And also to appoynt certain barkes and pynesses with flat bottomes to be made in Russia or England, to be ready to be joyned with our shipwrights in Russia. And upon consultation it may appear that the advantage of the yere may be taken by speedier and by sooner departure from St. Nicholas, upon the departure of the ise in the breaking up of winter. Then those barkes and pynesses for discovery to be made in Russia or if to be made in England for the saide advantage of the sommer to be wintered in St. Nicholas in Russia, or in some more easterly port if it maye be had.

And finding eastwarde of St. Nicholas a passage by sea, and the land bending to the southe, or some grete ryver portable by which we maye passe southward, there will rise possibility not only of ample vent of the clothe and other commodities of Englande, but also the [entering] in the trade of the Spicerie, with the interchange of all the commodities of the east and west [partes] of the Worlde.

Notes of the Straits of Magellan and the Islands within it, receyved from the Mariners.

The 4 islands lye within the mouthe of the Str. and westward of the most straitest part of the Strayght, 18 or 20 leges.

The biggest isle is in compasse and by gesse 5 or 6 mile, and of good black mowlde, and of deepe grasse, and lieth subjecte to

¹ On the White Sea.

² Shown on Herberstein's map of Russia. The Governors of the Muscovy Co. in their Commission to Pet and Jackman dated 20th May 1580 expressly forbade any 'searching inwardly' by the Ob.

the east sonne in the morning plesently, and on both sides defended with the grete hilles of bothe sides of the straits.

This Island is of the land, and the clyffs seme a toughe reddish and brownish claye, and lyethe higher then the sea. The high water marke in some places xv fadome, in some lesse.

This biggest [isle] they term the Elizabeth. On this island be some fowle, but not in that plentie as in St. Georges island.

Thother 2 islands are in cumpasse eache of them 2 or 3 myle, and St. Georges Island is infinite in fowl, and the soyle is blacke mowlde and lies moste southerly.

The third isle is most easterly, upon which we were not. This is called Barttolomewe.

Upon all the sea be seales and fowl, and the people of the maine came thither to victual themselves, as appeared by the signes of fire and the bare raw bones left behind them there.

There hangeth on the steep rock of the strait toward the South Sea or Mar del Sur, muskels of mervelous bignes and most delicate, in suche plentie as were able to victuell an armie for ever, for this tract of muskels runneth and continueth by the sides of bayes and rock at the coast xl mile. And at the lowe water marke may be gethered with gretest ease.

Lympits bigger than halfe oranges did cleave to the rockes in grete plentie, of which our men did eate. We did not seke for other fysshe there, but no dout not, ther is.

There is from thes islands within xx myle wode infynite, both the sides of the Strait, which we colde not bee depryed of. And there is in thes woodes trees as big as our elms, and hard and sounde tymber, so as we myght make ships and botes of the same, and make houses etc.

Those islands may serve for corne, being of good erthe, and standeth in the elevation of 53 degrees 20 minutes.

These islands have small sprynges of good freshe water.

So that growing there grayne and having clothes, you have whatsover the lyfe of man requyreth. And the seales skinnes wold clothe if there were no shepe.

About the middest of the straits the savages offered pieces of fleshe rawe, with the skynne on, which seemed to be of stagges, and left pieces of seales, somewhat broiled with fire, of which

maye be gathered that the mayne of the sides¹ of the strait wanteth not the stagge nor some other victuall for the reliefe of suche as shold there plante.

Goats and coves brought to these rockes on the sides of the strait would increase mightely in fewe yeres.

Without the mowthe of the strait xx myles to the north there is a fresh ryver in which Magellan with his flete made abode two months. This river is full of good fyshe as Magellan reported, of sundrie sortes.

St. Vincent, where the Portugalls are planted, lyeth under the tropique of Capricorne, and 28 degres and a halfe from the mowthe of the strait of Magellan. This myght easely be wonne and possessed by the [English] and from thence might be brought to the strait oranges and lymmons and all thinges [nedeful].

Thomas Griggs of Plimmouth, steweard of the [Elizabeth] in the voyage to the strait was on land [within] the straight there. He lieth with his brother. . . dwelling in Flete Streete or in Holborne. This [man was] among the Portugalls divers dayes and [learning many] things, can decipher all things there.

The seales they founde upon a bare island upon the coste of America were xv or xvi foote long, and were verie tame and innumerable. The skins [from which] for clothes and garments were to grete purpose about the straits. The oil of the seale in the northest regions² they use to drink and maye be used to manie purposes.

¹ The mainland on either side, as it was believed to be. Winter took first possession of the southern shore on Oct. 10, 1578. This passage contains the only reference to any intercourse with the natives. For Winter's report on his voyage see E. G. R. Taylor, *Mariner's Mirror*, vol. xvi, p. 134.

² *I.e.* in the Arctic.

Document 25

INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE NORTH-EAST PASSAGE BY RICHARD HAKLUYT, Lawyer, 1580

Notes in writing, besides more privie by mouth, that were given by M. RICHARD HAKLUYT, of Eiton in the countie of Hereford, Esquire, Anno 1580: to M. ARTHUR PET, and to M. CHARLES JACKMAN, sent by the merchants of the Moscovie companie for the discoverie of the Northeast straight, not altogether unfit for some other enterprises of discoverie, heerafter to be taken in hand.

What respect of Islands is to be had, and why.

Whereas the Portingalles have in their course to theyr Indies in the Southeast, certaine ports and fortifications to thrust into by the way, to divers great purposes: so you are to see what Islands, and what ports you had neede to have by the way in your course to the Northeast. For which cause I wish you to enter into consideration of the matter, and to note all the Islands, and to set them downe in plat, to two ends: that is to say, That we may devise to take the benefit by them, And also foresee how by them the Savages or civill Princes may in any sort annoy us in our purposed trade that way.

And for that the people to the which we purpose in this voyage to go, be no Christians, it were good that the masse of our commodities were alwayes in our owne disposition, and not at the will of others. Therefore it were good that we did seeke out some small Island in the Scithian sea,¹ where we might plant, fortifie, and staple safely, from whence (as time should serve) we might feed those heathen nations with our commodities without cloying them, or without venturing our whole masse in the bowels of theyr country.

And to which Island (if neede were, and if we should thinke so

¹ The Arctic Ocean, north of Asia.

good) we might allure the Northeast navie, the navie of Cambalu¹ to resort with theyr commodities to us there planted, and stapling there.

And if such an Island might be found so standing as might shorten our course, and so standing as that the navie of Cambalu, or other those parties might conveniently saile unto without theyr dislike in respect of distance, then would it fall out well. For so, besides lesse danger, and more safetie, our ships might there unlade and lade againe, and returne the selfe same summer to the ports of England or of Norway.

And if such an Island may be for the stapling of our commodities, to the which they of Cambalu would not saile, yet we might, having ships there, imploy them in passing betweene Cambalu and that stapling place.

Respect of havens and harbarowes.

And if no such Islands may bee found in the Scithian sea toward the firme of Asia, then are you to search out the ports that be about Nova Zembla, all along the tract of that land, to the end you may winter there the first yeere, if you be let by contrary winds, and to the end that if we may in short time come unto Cambalu, and unlade and set saile againe for returne without venturing, there at Cambalu, that you may on your way come as farre in returne as a port about Nova Zembla: that the summer following, you may the sooner be in England for the more speedy vent of your East commodities, and for the speedyer discharge of your mariners: if you can not go forward and backe in one selfe same summer.

And touching the tract of the land of Nova Zembla, toward the East out of the circle Arcticke in the more temperate zone,² you are to have regard: for if you finde the soile planted with people, it is like that in time an ample vent of our warme wollen clothes may be found. And if there be no people at all there to be found, then you shall speciallie note what plentie of whales, and of other fish is to be found there, to the end we may turne our newe found

¹ The capital city of the Grand Khan according to Marco Polo.

² Nova Zembla was assumed to be part of an Arctic continent separated by a strait from Asia but extending into the temperate zone where the coast of Asia turned south-eastwards.

land fishing or Island fishing,¹ or our whalefishing that way, for the ayd and comfort of our new trades to the Northeast to the coasts of Asia.

Respect of fish and certaine other things.

And if the aire may be found upon that tract temperate, and the soile yeelding wood, water, land and grasse, and the seas fish, then we may plant on that maine the offals² of our people, as the Portingalles do in Brasill, and so they may in our fishing in our passage, and divers wayes yeelde commoditie to England by harbouring and victualling us.

And it may be, that the inland there may yeeld masts, pitch, tarre, hempe, and all things for the navie, as plentifully as Estland³ doth.

The Islands to be noted with their commodities and wants.

To note the Islands, whether they be hie land or low land, mountaine or flat, gravelly, clay, chalkie, or of what soile, woody or not woody, with springs and rivers or not, and what wilde beasts they have in the same.

And whether there seeme to be in the same apt matter to build withall, as stone free or rough, and stone to make lime withall, and wood or coale to burne the same withall.

To note the goodnesse or the badnesse of the havens and harborowes in the Islands.

If a straight be found what is to be done, and what great importance it may be of.

And if there be a straight in the passage into the Scithian seas, the same is specially and with great regard to be noted, especially if the same straight be narrow and to be kept. I say it is to be noted as a thing that doeth much import: for what prince soever shall be Lorde of the same, and shall possesse the same, as the king of Denmarke doeth possesse the straight of Denmarke, he onely shall have the trade out of these regions into the Northeast parts of the world for himselfe, and for his private profit, or for his subjects onely, or to enjoy wonderfull benefit of the toll of

¹ Newfoundland or Iceland fishing.

² Dregs, cf. *supra*, p. 143.

³ Esthonia.

the same, like as the king of Denmarke doth enjoy of his straightes, by suffering the merchants of other Princes to passe that way. If any such straight be found, the elevation, the high or lowe land, the havens neere, the length of the straights, and all other such circumstances are to be set downe for many purposes: and all the mariners in the voyage are to be sworne to keepe close all such things, that other Princes prevent us not of the same, after our returne upon the disclosing of the mariners, if any such thing should hap.

Which way the Savage may be made able to purchase
our cloth and other their wants.

If you find any Island or maine land populous, and that the same people hath neede of cloth, then are you to devise what commodities they have to purchase the same withall.

If they be poore, then are you to consider of the soile, and how by any possibilitie the same may be made to enrich them, that heerafter they may have something to purchase the cloth withall.

If you enter into any maine by portable¹ river, and shall find any great woods, you are to note what kind of timber they be of: that we may know whether they are for pitch, tarre, masts, dealeboord, clapboord,² or for building of ships or houses, for so if the people have no use of them they may be brought perhaps to use.

Not to venture the losse of any one man.

You must have great care to preserve your people, since your number is so small,³ and not to venture any one man in any wise.

To bring home besides merchandize certaine trifles.

Bring home with you (if you may) from Cambalu, or other civil place, one or other yong man, although you leave one for him.

Also the frutes of the countries if they will not of themselves dure, drie them and so preserve them.

And bring with you the curnels of peares and apples,⁴ and the stones of such stone fruits as you shall find there.

¹ Navigable.

² Thin boards for barrel-staves and wainscoting.

³ Under twenty in the two ships.

⁴ *I.e.* the seeds.

Also the seeds of all strange herbs & flowers, for such seeds of fruits and herbs comming from another part of the world, and so far off, will delight the fancie of many, for the strangenesse and for that the same may grow and continue the delight long time.

If you arrive at Cambalu or Quinsay, to bring thence the mappe of that country, for so shall you have the perfect description which is to great purpose.

To bring thence some old printed booke, to see whether they have had print there, before it was devised in Europe, as some write.

To note their force by sea and by land.

If you arrive in Cambalu or Quinsay, to take a speciall view of their Navie, and to note the force, greatnesse, maner of building of them, the sailes, the tackles, the ankers, the furniture of them, with ordinance, armor, and munition.

Also, to note the force of the walles and bulwarks of their cities, their ordinance, and whether they have any calivers,¹ and what powder and shot.

To note what armor they have.

What swords.

What pikes, halberts and billes.

What horses of force, and what light horses they have.

And so throughout, to note the force of the countrey both by sea and by land.

Things to be marked to make conjectures by.

To take speciall note of their buildings, and of the ornaments of their houses within.

Take a speciall note of their apparell and furniture, and of the substance that the same is made of, of which a merchant may make a gesse as well of their commoditie, as also of theyr wants.

To note theyr shoppes and warehouses, and with what commodities they abound, the price also.

To see their shambles, and to view all such things as are brought into the markets, for so you shall soone see the commodities, and the maner of the people of the inland, and so give a gesse of many things.

¹ A light kind of harquebus.

To note theyr fields of graine, and their trees of fruit, and how they abound or not abound in one and other, and what plentie or scarcitie of fish they have.

Things to be caried with you, whereof more or lesse is to bee caried for a shew of our commodities to be made.

Karsies¹ of all orient coulers, specially of stamell,² brodecloth of orient coulers also.

Frizadoes,³ motlyes,⁴ Bristow frizes, Spanish blankets, Baies⁵ of al coulers, specially with stamell, woorsteds, carels,⁶ sayes,⁵ woadmols,⁷ flanel, rash,⁸ &c.

Felts of divers coulers.

Taffeta hats.

Deepe cappes for mariners coulered in stamell, whereof if ample vent may be found, it would turne to an infinite commoditie of the common poore people by knitting.

Quilted caps of Levant taffeta of divers coulers, for the night.

Knit stocks⁹ of silke of orient coulers.

Knit stocks of Jerzie yerne of orient coulers, whereof if ample vent might follow the poore multitude should be set in worke.

Stocks of karsie of divers coulers for men and for women.

Garters of silke of severall kinds, and of coulers divers.

Girdles of Buffe and all other leather, with gilt and ungilt buckles, specially waste girdles, waste girdles of velvet.

Gloves of all sorts, knit, and of leather.

Gloves perfumed.

Points¹⁰ of all sorts of silke, threed, and leather, of all maner of coulers.

Shooes of Spanish leather, of divers coulers, of divers lengths, cut and uncut.

Shooes of other leather.

Velvet shooes and pontophles.¹¹

¹ Coarse narrow cloth.

² A shade of red.

³ Frieze cloth.

⁴ Cloth of mixed colours.

⁵ Bayes and sayes were light woollen stuffs made by the immigrant Flemish weavers.

⁶ Cloth of mixed yarn.

⁷ A coarse woollen fabric.

⁸ Fine serge.

⁹ Stockings.

¹⁰ Tagged lace or cord.

¹¹ Slippers.

These shooes and pantophles to be sent this time, rather for a show then for any other cause.

Purses knit, and of leather.

Night cappes knit, and other.

A garnish of pewter, for a show of a vent of that English commoditie, bottles, flagons, spoones, &c. of that mettall.

Glasses of English making.

Venice glasses.

Looking glasses for women, great and fayre.

Small dials¹ a few for prooffe, although there they will not hold the order they do heere.²

Spectacles of the common sort.

Others of Cristall trimmed with silver, and otherwise.

Hower glasses. } { Combes of boxe.

Combes of Ivorie. } { Combes of horne.

Linnen of divers sorts.

Handkerchiffs with silke of severall coulers wrought.

Glazen eyes³ to ride with against dust.

Knives in sheathes, both single and double, of good edge.

Needles great and small of every kinde.

Buttons greater and smaller, with moulds of leather and not of wood, and such as be durable of double silke, and that of sundry coulers.

Boxes with weights of golde, and of every kinde of the coine of gold, good and badde, to shew that the people heere use weight and measure, which is a certaine shew of wisdom, and of certaine government setled here.

All the severall silver coines of our English monyes, to be carried with you to be shewed to the gouvernours at Cambalu, which is a thing that shall in silence speake to wise men more, then you imagine.

Locks and keyes, hinges, bolts, haspes, &c. great and small, of excellent workemanship, whereof if vent may be, heereafter we shall set our subjectes in worke, which you must have in great regard. For in finding ample vent of any thing that is to be wrought in this realme, is more worth to our people besides the

¹ Sun-dials or compass clocks.

² Because of the change of latitude.

³ Like motor-goggles.

gaine of the merchant, then Christchurch, Bridewell, the Savoy, and all the Hospitals of England.¹

For banketting on shipboord persons of credit.

First the sweetest perfumes to set under hatches to make ye place sweet against theyr comming aboard, if you arrive at Cambalu, Quinsey, or in any such great citie & not among Savages.

Marmelade.	}	{	Figs barrelled.
Sucket. ²			Reisins of the sunne.

Comfets of divers kindes, made of purpose by him that is most excellent, that shall not dissolve.

Prunes damaske. ³	}	{	Walnuts.
Dryed pearces.			Almonds. Smalnuts.

Olives to make them taste theyr wine.

The apple John⁴ that dureth two yeeres to make shew of our fruits.

Hullocke. ⁵	}	{	Sacke.

Vials of good sweet waters, and casting bottles of glasses to besprinkle the gests withall, after theyr comming aboard.

Suger, to use with theyr wine, if they will.

The sweet oyle of Santie,⁶ and excellent French vineger, and a fine kind of Bisket stiped in the same doe make a banketting dish, and a little Suger cast in it cooleth and comforteth, and refresheth the spirits of man.

Cynomom water	}	{	is to be had with you to make a shew of by taste, and also to comfort your sicke in the
Imperiall water ⁷			voyage.

With these and such like, you may banket where you arrive the greater and best persons.

Or with the gift of these Marmelades in small boxes, or small

¹ From about 1566 onwards a number of new industries, such as glass-making and knitting, were introduced into England, especially by the Flemish and Huguenot refugees, while old industries such as iron-founding, cloth-making and pewter manufacturing expanded rapidly. Nevertheless, unemployment increased, and Hakluyt saw that the remedy lay in finding new foreign markets. Hence his scheme for an elaborate display of samples in China.

² Candied fruit.

³ Damsons.

⁴ A variety of keeping apple

⁵ A red Spanish wine.

⁶ Zante.

⁷ A drink made of cream of tartar flavoured with lemons and sweetened (O.E.D.).

viols of sweet waters you may gratifie by way of gift, or you may make a merchandize of them.

The Mappe of England and of London.¹

'Take with you the mappe of England set out in fayre colours, one of the biggest sort I meane, to make shew of your countrey from whence you come.

And also the large mappe of London, to make shew of your citie. And let the river be drawne full of shippes of all sorts, to make the more shew of your great trade and traffike in trade of merchandize.

Ortelius booke of Mappes.

If you take Ortelius booke of mappes² with you to marke all these regions, it were not amisse, and if need were, to present the same to the great Cam, for it would be to a Prince of marvellous account.

The booke of the attire of all nations.³

Such a booke carried with you and bestowed in gift, would be much esteemed, as I persuaide myselfe.

Bookes.

If any man will lend you the new Herball,⁴ and such bookes as make shew of herbes, plantes, trees, fishes, fowles and beastes of these regions, it may much delight the great Cam, and the nobilitie, and also theyr merchants to have the view of them: for all things in these parties so much differing from the things of those regions, since they may not be here to see them, by meane of the distance, yet to see those things in a shadow, by this meane will delight them.

The booke of Rates.

Take with you the booke of Rates,⁵ to the ende you may pricke

¹ Perhaps a MS. copy of Agas' map of London is referred to. The earliest known map of England 'of the biggest sort' is Saxton's map of 1583. This passage strongly suggests that there was an earlier edition of 1579-80.

² The *Theatrum*.

³ Not identified. A. de Bruyn's *Omnium gentium habitus* is dated 1581. A *Habitus praecipuorum populorum* was published in 1577.

⁴ By Henry Lyte.

⁵ The Customers' Book, containing the rates of customs to be paid on imported commodities.

all those commodities there specified, that you shall chance to find in Cambalu, in Quinsey, or in any part of the East, where you shall chance to be.

Parchment.

Rowles of Parchment, for that we may vent much without hurt to the Realme, and it lyes in small roome.

Glew.

To carie Glew, for that we have plentie, and want vent.

Red Oker for Painters.

To seeke vent because we have great mines of it, and have no vent.

Sope of both kindes.

To try what vent it may have, for that we make of both kindes, and may perhaps make more.

Saffron.

To try what vent you may have of Saffron, because this Realme yeelds the best of the world, and for the tillage and other labours may set the poore greatlie in worke to their reliefe.

Aquavitæ.

By new devises woonderful quantities may be made heere, and therefore to seeke the vent.

Blacke Conie skinnnes.

To trie the vent at Cambalu, for that it lyes towards the North, and for that we abound with the commoditie, and may spare it.¹

Threed of all colours.

The vent thereof may set our people in worke.

Copper Spurres, and Hawkes bels.

To see the vent, for it may set our people in worke.

¹ English warrens were stocked with black rabbits for the sake of their skins.

A note and Caveat for the Merchant.

That before you offer your commodities to sale, you indeavour to learne what commodities the countrey there hath. For if you bring thither velvet, taffeta, spice, or any such commoditie that you your selfe desire to lade your selfe home with, you must not sell yours deare, least hereafter you purchase theirs not so cheape as you would.

Seedes for sale.

Carie with you for that purpose, all sorts of garden seedes, as well of sweete strawing herbes and of flowers, as also of pot herbes and all sortes for rootes, &c.

Lead of the first melting.

Lead of the second melting of the slags.

To make triall of the vent of Lead of all kindes.

English iron, and wier of iron and copper.

To trie the sale of the same.

Brimstone.

To trie the vent of the same, because we abound with it made in the Realme.

Anthimonie a Minerall.

To see whether they have any ample use there for it, for that we may lade whole navies of it, and have no use of it, unlesse it be for some small portion in founding of bells, or a litle that the Alcumists use: of this you may have two sortes at the Appotiacaries.

Tinder boxes with Steele, Flint & Matches, and Tinder, the Matches to be made of Juneper to avoid the offence of Brimstone.¹

To trie and make the better sale of Brimstone by shewing the use.

Candles of Waxe to light.

A painted Bellowes.

For that perhaps they have not the use of them.

¹ Usually the match stick was dipped in brimstone.

A pot of cast iron.

To trie the sale, for that it is a naturall commoditie of this Realme.

All maner of edge tooles.

To be sold there or to the lesse civil people by the way where you shall touch.

What I would have you there to remember.

To note specially what excellent dying they use in these regions, and therefore to note their garments and ornaments of houses: and to see their die houses and the materials & simples that they use about the same, and to bring musters¹ and shewes of the colours and of the materials, for that it may serve this clothing realme to great purpose.

To take with you for your owne use.

All maner of engines to take fish and foule.

To take with you those things that be in perfection
of goodnesse.

For as the goodnesse now at the first may make your commodities in credite in time to come: So false and sophisticate² commodities shall drawe you and all your commodities into contempt and ill opinion.

¹ Samples.

² Adulterated. The elder Hakluyt's commercial advice was thoroughly sound.

Document 26

LETTER FROM MERCATOR TO RICHARD HAKLUYT THE YOUNGER, 1580

A letter of GERARDUS MERCATOR, written to M. RICHARD HAKLUYT of Oxford, touching the intended discoverie of the Northeast passage. An. 1580.

Sir,¹ I received your letters the 19. of June: it grieved me much that upon the sight of them the time being spent, I could not give any convenient instructions: I wish Arthur Pet had bene informed before his departure of some speciall points. The voyage to Cathaio by the East, is doutlesse very easie and short, and I have oftentimes marvelled, that being so happily begun, it hath bene left of, and the course changed into the West, after that more then halfe of your voyage was discovered. For beyond the Island of Vaigats and Nova Zembla, there foloweth presently a great Baie, which on the left² side is inclosed with the mightie promontorie Tabin. Into the middes hereof there fall great rivers, which passing through the whole countrey of Serica, and being as I thinke navigable with great vessels into the heart of the continent, may bee an easie means whereby to traffique for all maner of merchandize, and transport them out of Cathaio, Mangi, Mien, and other kingdoms thereabouts into England: But considering with my selfe that that navigation was not intermitted, but upon great occasion, I thought that the Emperor of Russia and Moscovie had hindered the proceeding thereof. If so bee that with his grace and favour a further navigation may be made, I would counsell them certainly not first to seeke out the promontorie Tabin, but to search this baie and rivers aforesayd, and in them to picke and choose out some convenient porte and harborough for the English merchants, from whence afterward with more opportunitie and lesse perill the promontorie Tabin, and all the coast of Cathaio may bee discovered. And that there

*The best
course to be
taken in
discoveries.*

¹ 'Vir humanissime.' The translation from the Latin original is Hakluyt's.

² East.

is such a huge promontorie called Tabin, I am certainly perswaded not onely out of Plinie, but also other writers, and some Maps (though somewhat rudely drawn): and that the pole of the Loadestone is not farre beyond Tabin, I have learned by the certaine observations of the Loadestone: about which pole and Tabin, I thinke there are very many rockes, and very hard and dangerous sailing: and yet a more hard and difficile passage I thinke it to bee this way which is now attempted by the West, for it is neerer to the pole of the Loadestone, to the which I thinke it not safe to approach. And because the Loadestone hath another pole then that of the worlde, to the which from all parts it hath a respect,¹ the neerer you come unto it, the more the needle of the Compasse doeth varie from the North, sometimes to the West, and sometimes to the East, according as a man is to the Eastward or to the Westward of that Meridian, that passeth by both the poles of the Magnes and the World.

This is a strange alteration and very apt to deceive the Sailer, unlesse hee know the unconstancie and variation of the Compasse, and take the elevation of the pole somtimes with his instruments. If master Arthur bee not well provided in this behalfe, or of such dexteritie, that perceiving the errour he be not able to correct the same, I feare least in wandering up and downe he lose his time, and be overtaken with the ice in the midst of the enterprise. For that gulfe,² as they say, is frozen every yere very hard. Which if it be so, the best counsel I could give for their best safetie, were to seeke some harborough in that baie, and those rivers whereof I have spoken, and by some Ambassador to make friendship and acquaintance with the great Cham, in name of the Queenes majestie, which I beleeve will be gratefull to the mightiest Emperour in the world, yea most excellent for the length of the traffique, and great distance of the places. I thinke from the mouthes of the mighty rivers Bautisus and Oechar³ to Cambalu the chieftest seat of the prince, the Cham, there are not past 300. Germane miles, and to

¹ I.e. the magnetic pole, the position of which Mercator had calculated from the intersection of isogonic lines.

² The Kara Sea or *Mare Tabin*.

³ These two rivers are shown in Ptolemy's map of *Serica*, and Mercator in his map of 1569 makes them flow thence into the *Mare Tabin*.

passe by Ezina a citie of the kingdom of Tangut, which seemeth to be but 100. Germane miles from the mouthes of ye sayd rivers, and is subject to great Cham.

I would gladly know how high the sea doeth flowe commonly in the porte of Moscovia where your men do harborough, and in other Easterly places unto Tabin. And also whether the sea in this streight do flow alwaies one way to the East or to the West, or whether it doe ebbe and flow according to the maner of the tides in the middle of the chanell, that is to say, whether it flow there sixe houres into the West, and as many backe againe to the East, for hereupon depend other speculations of importance: I would wish M. Frobisher to observe the same Westwards. Concerning the gulfe of Merosro and Canada, and new France which are in my mappes, they were taken out of a certaine sea card drawn by a certaine priest out of the description of a Frenchman,¹ a Pilot very skilfull in those partes, and presented to the worthy prince George of Austria, bishop of Liege: for the trending of the coast, and the elevation of the pole, I doubt not but they are very neere the trueth: for the Charte had, beside a scale of degrees of latitude passing through the middest of it, another particularly annexed to the coast of New France, wherewith the error of the latitudes committed by reason of the variation of the compasse might be corrected.² The historie of the voyage of Jacobus Cnoyen Buschoducensis throughout all Asia, Affrica, and the North, was lent me in time past by a friend of mine at Antwerpe.³ After I had used it, I restored it againe: after many yeeres I required it againe of my friend, but hee had forgotten of whom hee had borrowed it. The writings of Gulielmus Tripolitanus, and Joannes de Plano Carpinus I never saw: onely I found certaine pieces of them in other written hand bookes. I am glad the Epitomie of Abelfada is translated, I would we might have it shortly.⁴

*Upon the
observations
of the tides
depend great
speculations.*

Thus much Sir I thought good to answere your letters: if there bee any thing els that you would require of me, I will most

¹ Hakluyt had evidently enquired on this point.

² As in the Reinel map of 1505.

³ Mercator had recently written at length to John Dee on this traveller.

⁴ Presumably by Hakluyt or Florio out of Ramusio.

willingly communicate it with you, craving this likewise of your curtesie, that whatsoever observations of both these voiaiges¹ shall come to your hands, you would impart them to me, they shall all remaine with mee according to your discretion and pleasure, and whatsoever I gather of them, I will faithfully signifie unto you by letters, if happily they may yeeld any helpe or light unto this most excellent enterprise of navigation, and most profitable to our christian common wealth.² Fare you well most learned friend. At Duisburge in Clivia, 28. of Julie, the yeere, 1580.

At Arthur his returne I pray you learne of him the things I have requested, and whether any where in his voiage, he found the sea fresh, or not very salt: for I suppose the Sea betweene Nova Zembla and Tabin to be fresh.

Yours to my power to be commanded,

Gerardus Mercator

Document 27

EXTRACT FROM CAMDEN'S *ANNALS*, 1580

About this time returned into England Francis Drake, flowing with great wealth, and flourishing with greater glory, having prosperously sailed round about the world. . . .

Whilst Drake sayled thus prosperously round the world, Jackman & Pett, two famous pilots, being sent forth by the Londoners with two shippes, sought as unprosperously to discover a neere way to East India by the Cronian or frozen sea.

¹ The north-eastern and north-western voyages.

² Mercator kept his promise, and sent Hakluyt a copy of a letter on the North-east Passage which he received from his friend John Balak in 1581. As appears from a subsequent letter of Mercator to Ortelius (Hessels, 99), Hakluyt's letter of enquiry was dated April 1580, and enjoined his correspondent to secrecy.

Document 28

NOTE BY RICHARD HAKLUYT THE YOUNGER,

1580

Ye commodity of taking ye straightes of Magellanus.

What effects may follow of my purposed platforme by me to be offered, if I may be sent to Don A.¹ with letters of commendacions.

W^{ch} enterprise may be brought about wth — sayle.

And wth the number of — men, wth vittell and furniture for the same.

ffirst we will possess a seate impregnable of nature, and soch as hath trayne,² fflesh, ffish, ffresh water, wyne and all things for the life of man, and soch a place as is abel for the compassing of the things ensuing.

1. ffirst we shall depryve the Sp. king of the tresure of the west.
2. Then we shall depryve his kingdome of his trades of merchandize.
3. Thirdly we wil depryve him of al his maryners and consequently of al the chiefe force of the navie of his kingdome.
4. ffourthly we wil soe depryve all the inlandes of the kingdome of Sp. of vittell that the multitude shalbe redie to starve or shld fall to rebellion, into the secret and importance whereof fewe men hav entered into the consideration.

Thus maye we depryve that prowde state of al maner of force.

Thus maye we retayne the grete masse of tresure that worke the grete effects of the worlde.

Thus we may wyne to our handes traffick into the West Indies and (as the matter may be used) wonderfull vent of our clothes and of other commodities.

Thus we shal force the prowde nacion to entrete for amitie, and soe we may conclude wth them, that cutting them from the

¹ Don Antonio the Pretender to the throne of Portugal.

² Train-oil.

Indies we shal receyve theyre wyne and oyles for half the money that now we doe pay for the same.

Thus the prowde nacion shall not be able to annoy us in Ireland as now they doe, or thereafter be the popes instrument to annoy us anywhere.

And this Tresure and soch grete Spoyles as shal upon this enterprise be taken upon the sodden shalbe able to work wonderful effects and to carie the worlde etc.

Thus sh^d Don A. be esely restored to his kingdome and become a perpetuall friend. And so shal his kingdome and territories become an ample vent of our clothes where now by the purpose of King phillip it shal be served only w^t the cloth of Spayne.

Document 29

DEDICATION OF FLORIO'S *CARTIER*, 1580

To all Gentlemen, Merchants and Pilots

When I had taken in hande to translate thys Treatise which I did for the benefite and behoofe of those that shall attempt any newe discoverie in the Northwest partes of America, I thought good brieflye to touch the use of my translation, that the Reader may see and consider the drift of my travell. For, although this Discourse may seeme very barraine, and not to containe such matter as is pretended, as beyng a particular Relation of certaine Provinces whyche have been hitherto of all men rather condemned than thoroughly known: yet if the Marchant Venturer, or skilfull Pilot, or whosoever desirous of newe Discoveries, have the readyng and perusing thereof, for whom especially I have done it into Englishe, they will find matter worthy the looking, and consequently, gratefully accept my paines herein. For here is the Description of a Country no less fruitful and pleasant in all respects than is England, Fraunce or Germany, the people, though simple and rude in manners, and destitute of the know-

ledge of God or any good lawes, yet of nature gentle and tractable, and most apt to receive the Christian Religion, and to subject themselves to some good government: the commodities of the Country not inferior to the Marchandize of Moscovy, Danske, or many other frequented Trades: the voyage very shorte, being but three weekes sayling from Bristowe, Plymouth, or any commodious Porte of the Weast Countrey, with a directe course to the coast of Newfoundland. Al which oportunities besides manye others, mighte suffice to induce oure Englishmen, not onely to fall to some traffique wyth the Inhabitants, but also to plant a Colonie in some convenient place, and so to possesse the Country, without the gainsaying of any man,¹ which was the judgement and counsell of John Baptista Ramusius, a learned and excellent Cosmographer, and Secretary to the famous State of Venice, whose words, because they are not impertinent to this purpose, I have here set downe. Why doe not the Princes (saieth he) whyche are to deale in these affaires, sende forth two or three Colonies to inhabit the Country, and to reduce this savage nation to some civilitie? considering what a battle² and fruitfull soyle it is, how replenished with all kinde of graine, how it is stored wyth al sortes of Byrdes and Beastes, wyth such faire and mighty Rivers, that Captaine Carthier and his company, in one of them sayled uppe a hundreth and foure score leagues, findyng the countrey people on both sides in greate abundaunce. And moreover, to cause the Governors of those Colonies to send forth men to search and discover the North lands about Terra del Lavorader, and toward Weast northwest to the Seas whiche are to saile to the Country of Cataya, and from thence to the Islands of Molucke. These were enterprises to purchase immortall praise, which the Lord Anthony di Mendoza Viceroy of Mexico, willing to put in execution, sent forth his Captains both by Sea and by Land upon the Northwest of Nuova Spagana, and discovered the Kingdome of the seaven cities about Civola. And Franciscus Vasques de

¹ Effective occupation was, in the English view, the criterion of possession. This is the first proposal for the colonisation of America to appear in print, apart from Gilbert's suggestion of a 'seat' in Sierra Nevada, in his pamphlet published in 1576.

² Rich (O.E.D.).

Coronada, passed from Mexico by lande towarde the North-weast 2850. miles, in so much, that he came to the Sea, whyche lyeth betweene Cataya and America, where he met with the Catayan shippes.¹ And no doubt, if the French men in this their newe Fraunce, would have discovered up further into the land towards the Weast northwest partes, they shoulde have founde the Sea, and might have sayled to Cataya. Thus much out of Ramusius, where you may see this learned mans judgement concerning the planting of Colonies, and inhabiting these countries, whyche might be a meane, not only to discover the Sea on the backe-side, as he desireth, but also to come unto the knowledge of the Countries adjacent: and namely, of Saguenay, whiche aboundeth with Golde and other mettales, as in the seconde Relation is to be seene. All whyche thyngs excepte they builde and inhabite can never be achieved, for as Fraunciscus Lopez di Gomara, and dyvers other Spanishe Authors affirme, the Spanyards never prospered or prevailed but where they planted: whych of the Portugalles may also be verified, as in the Histories of all theyre Conquests and Discoveries doth manifestly appeare. And as there is none, that of right may be more bolde in ther enterprice than the Englishmen, the land being first found out by John Gabot the Father, and Sebastian Gabot, one of hys three sonnes, in the yeare 1494, in the name and behalfe of King Henry the seaventh, as both by the foresaid Ramusius in his first Volumes, and our owne Chronicles, and Sebastian Gabots letters patents yet extant, and in his Mappe may be seene:² so there is no nation that hath so good a righte, or is more fit for this purpose, than they are, who travayling yearly into those partes with 50. or 60. saile of shippes,³ might very commodiously transporte a sufficient number of men to plant a Colonie in some convenient Haven, and also might yield them yearly succour, and supply of al things necessary, receyving

¹ This incident, related in Ramusio's *Viaggi*, was repeatedly dwelt on by English writers, who saw in it a proof of a narrow Pacific Ocean.

² The faulty date 1494 (for 1497) appeared on the Cabot map of 1544, of which an English woodcut copy was prepared for the printer by Clement Adams about 1549.

³ *I.e.* to the Newfoundland fisheries, cf. Parkhurst's statements, *supra*, p. 128.

againē such commodities as the Countrey doth produce. And this the Frenchmen had done long since if first they warres with the Spanyardes, and since their cruell dissensions at home, had not hindered them. And Johannes Varrozana a Florentine, if he had not beene prevented by death, purposed (as the foresayde Ramusius writeth) to persuade Francis the French King to send forth good store of people to inhabite certaine places of these coastes, where the aire is moste temperate, and the soyle moste fruitfull, with goodly Rivers and Havens sufficient to harborough any navie, the inhabitantes of which places might have occasion to bring many good purposes to effecte, and amongst manye others to reduce those poore rude and ignorant people to the true worship and service of God, and to teache them how to manure and till the ground, transporting over Beastes and Cattell of Europe into those large and champion countreys, and finally, they might discover up into the land, and search, whether among so many Ilands as are there, there be any passage to the Sea of Cataya. And thus much oute of the third Volume of Voyages and Navigations, gathered into the Italian tongue by Ramusius: which Bookes, if they were translated into English by the liberalitie of some noble Personage, our Sea men of England, and others, studious of Geographie, shoulde know many worthy secrets, whiche hitherto have been concealed. For, the best Cosmographers of this age (as I am by the skilfull in those Sciences informed, and as to him that doth diligently consider their mappes, it shall plainly appeare) have described Asia, Africa and America, chiefly by the help of those bookes.

But to returne to that from whence I did digresse, althoughe some attemptes of our Countrey-men have not had as yet souche successe as was wished, they ought not therefore to bee the slower in this enterprize, for if they were of late contented in their voyage, to have stayed al the Winter in those colder Countries, if their store of victualles had been sufficient,¹ howe much rather ought we nowe in a farre more temperate clime, where James Carthier accompanied wyth 120. men remained a

¹ The reference is to the Frobisher voyages. It was intended on the third voyage that a party should winter in high latitudes under the command of Edward Fenton.

whole Winter contrary to hys determination when he set out of Fraunce? Thus beseeching God, that this my travel may take that effect for the which it is meant, I commend the diligent consideration to al such Gentlemen, Merchants and Pilots, as seeke Gods glory, the advauncement of their Countrey, and the happy successe, to the providence of the Almighty, who in my opinion hath not in vaine stirred up the mindes of so many Honourable and Worshipfull persons to the furtherance of these commendable and worthy Discoveries.

In Oxford.¹ J. F.

Document 30

EXTRACTS FROM CAMDEN'S *ANNALS*, 1581

While the Estates and the Spaniard contended in the Netherlands for petty Townes, the Spaniard seized into his hands the rich kingdome of Portugall. For Henry king of Portugall deceased the last yere in his old age, and many competitors layd claime to the crowne, and amongst them Philip, King of Spaine.... But Don Antonio, Prior of Crato, the sonne of Lodowick another brother of King Henry, was utterly rejected as illegitimate.... But the title which Katherine de Medices, Queene of France, layd to Portugal... was in a manner exploded both by the Spaniards and Portugals, as an outworne title... whereat she, being wild with anger, and beholding with an envious eye the increasing power of the Spaniard, so farre and wide already extended, and enriched with the addition of Portugall, East India and many Isles, and misdoubting herself and her posteritie, warned both other Princes and Queen Elizabeth also, to curb his ambition betimes, and restraine his too

¹ In a letter to Camden written from Oxford on June 2, [1580], Thomas Savile says: "...Neque vel à te, vel ab Hackluito, vel ab alio quopiam literula saltem unica delata est. Sed enim ignosco tibi, Camdene, V. Cl. tibi, inquam, quem multis nominibus occupatissimum scio; Hackluito non item, quem sola novitatis cupido Londinum pertraxit..." The scholarly Master of Merton could not understand the importance to Hakluyt of the 'novelties' which drew him up to London. Florio's translation was licensed on June 7th.

far extending power within some reasonable limits. And indeed, Queen Elizabeth, being providently careful for her selfe and her subjects, willingly harkened unto her. . . . But for Don Antonio, who was living out of Portugall in France, and from thence sent over with commendations into England she bountifully relieved him. . . .

Document 31

LETTERS FROM FRANCIS DRAKE, 1581

FRANCIS DRAKE to the EARL OF LEICESTER.¹ 14 Oct. 1581.

. . . I am well pleased [to be an assister] to any adventure that your [honour setteth forth, so] far forth as myne ability [sufficeth, and] this especially both for that your lordship is [the furtherer of so] famous an adventure, but also for that a [captain is charged with it] on whom I judge (by gods permission) [it resteth] to bring it to good effect. Wherein there shalbe [no good] will wanting in me to be assister both with [such advices] as I am able to give, and also fit Mr. Frobisher with such sufficient men of my late company as have some experience that way. Wherefore I will reserve all to your Lordships election, and do here make offer of my [furtherance] three several ways, to your best contentment. If your good [pleasure] is to have the adventure I shall bear in money, I will [provide to the] value of 1000 marks, for the which thousand marks [though it] make some trial of my credit to furnish this action—notwithstanding, as now greatly indebted, yet shall the servant see you^r therof furnished.

If your L. think [rather] to have me provide a ship, I think I have for [that purpose], her burden being at least 180 tons, a ship as fit for that voyage as may be said of her sufficiency any way: where I will bear the adventure of one thousand pounds, and furnish her very sufficiently in very short time, so that there

¹ Drake's success led to the planning of an expedition by the Cape Route to the Indies, to which these letters refer. The group which included Gilbert, Raleigh, the Hakluyts, John Dee and Sir George Peckham continued to work for the colonisation of America, and in 1581 Dee made a strong appeal for the evangelisation of the American Indians.

may be order given for the overplus of her charge. But if your Ld. with Mr. Frobisher think best to have the little new bark, and the two pinnaces, I will bestow the like adventure therein, and upon your commands given will have them sheathed, prepared and furnished with sufficient provisions to your good liking. Wherefore I will gladly attend your answer therein for that I am very desirous to show that dutiful service I can possibly do in any action your good lordship vouchsaveth to use me, and for that I am willing to follow the directions of your Ld. and Mr. Frobisher in any respect, I shall pray that some one shall be sent down....

Francis Drake

FRAGMENT OF LETTER ON THE SAME MATTER¹

... But myne opinion is that if [I were entered] into the like action I would [first have] traffique from 18 degrees to the northwards of the line Equinoctiall untill I came to Taprobane,² which distance of places they shall not [pass, in] my judgment, and partly by that I have [myself] learned, without finding great store [of commodities] of good price.

If the wind will not suffer them to passe to the east and north part of Mallaca as [aforesaid], then do I think it best to make their traffique in the great bay from Taprobane to the westwards towards the island Zeilan,³ in which bay there are provinces and people of great welthe.

For the traffique of spices I am of the opynion that the Molucas will furnish them sufficiently, as cloves especially.⁴ Whereas they are desirous to know the fittest places of watering and the best meanes to preserve their helthe it shalbe sufficient in that they shall have in their company divers of my men⁵ which were in my late viage who can more effectually instruct them both of the places and of the order that is necessarie therein to observe....

¹ Cotton MSS. Otho E VIII, fol. 61. Internal evidence shows Drake to have been the writer.

² Sumatra. The region indicated is the Gulf of Siam.

³ The Bay of Bengal.

⁴ Drake brought home a cargo of cloves in 1580.

⁵ Thomas Hood, Thomas Blacoller and young William Hawkins were among those of Drake's men who sailed with Fenton.

Document 32

LIST OF GEOGRAPHICAL AUTHORITIES COM- PILED BY RICHARD HAKLUYT IN 1582¹

WRITERS

- 1300 Abelfada Ismael, Prince of Syria, Persia and Assyria.
1320 John Mandevill Englishman.
1500 Albertus Cranzius of Hamburge.
1520 Peter Martyr Millanoyse.
1525 Gonsalvo Oviedo Spaniard.
1527 Robert Thorne Englishman.
1530 Hieronymus Frascator Italian.
1539 Gemma Frisius.
1540 Antonie di Mendoza Spaniard.
1541 Gerardus Mercator Fleming.
1549 John Baptista Guiccardine Florentine.
1553 John Baptista Ramusius, he gathered many notable things.
1554 Seb. Munster Germaine.
1554 Thos. Giunti Venetian.
1555 Clement Adams Englishman.²
1555 Orontius Finaeus Frenchman.
1564 Abraham Ortelius Fleming.³
1574 Hierome Osorius Portingall.
1575 Andreas Thevet Frenchman.
1575 Francis Belleforest Frenchman.⁴
1576 H. Gilbert K^t Englishman.
1577 Dionyse Settle Englishman.
1578 George Beste Englishman.
1580 Nicholas Chauncellor Englishman.⁵

¹ For insertion in the *Divers Voyages*. The list looks very imposing, but many of the writers and travellers were only known to Hakluyt through Ramusio's volumes, which formed the foundation of his cosmographical studies.

² Adams was chronicler of the early Muscovy voyages.

³ The date is that of Ortelius' world map, on which Gilbert based his arguments.

⁴ Both Thevet and Belleforest in this year compiled general cosmographies of little value.

⁵ Purser on the Pet-Jackman voyage, of which he wrote a narrative.

TRAVELLERS WHICH ALSO FOR THE MOST
PART HAVE WRITTEN¹

- 1178 Benjamin Tudelensis.
- 1270 Marcus Paulus Venetian.
- 1300 Harton an Armenian.
- 1320 John Mandeville K^t Englishman.
- 1380 Ni. and Ant. Zeni Venetians.
- 1444 Ni. Conti Venetian.
- 1492 Christopher Columbus Genoway.
- 1497 S. Gabot an Englishman the son of a Venetian.
- 1497 M. Thorne and Hugh Eliot of Bristol gentlemen.
- 1497 Vasques de Gama a portingale.
- 1500 Gaspar Corterealis portingale.
- 1516 Edoardus Barbosa portingale.
- 1519 F. Magalianes a portingale.
- 1530 John Barros a portingale.
- 1534 Jaques Cartier a Briton.
- 1540 Francis Vasques de Coronado Spaniard.
- 1542 John Gaetan Spaniard.
- 1549 F. Xavier a portingale.
- 1553 Hugh Willowbie K^t and Ri. Chancellor Englishmen.
- 1554 F. Galvano a portingale.
- 1556 St. and W. Burros Englishmen.
- 1562 A. Jenkinson Englishman.
- 1562 J. Ribault a frenchman.
- 1565 Andrew Thevet a frenchman.
- 1576 M. Frobisher Englishman.
- 1578 F. Drake Englishman.
- 1580 A. Pet and C. Jackman Englishmen.
- 1582 Edward Fenton and Luke Ward Englishmen.
- 1582 H. Gilbert K^t. Ed Heyes and Anthonie Brigham² Englishmen.

¹ Again the list is largely compiled from Ramusio.

² Brigham did not sail with Gilbert as the event proved, and the voyage was postponed until 1583, but this entry indicates that Hakluyt believed it would take place in 1582.

Document 33

NOTES BY RICHARD HAKLUYT PRINTED IN *DIVERS VOYAGES*, 1582

This much concerning Sebastian Cabotes discoverie may suffice for a present tast: but shortly, God willing, shall come out in print all his owne mappes and discourses drawn and written by himselfe, which are in the custodie of the worshipfull master William Worthington, one of her Majesties Pensioners, who (because so worthie monumentes shoulde not be buried in perpetuall oblivion) is very willing to suffer them to be overseene and published in as good order as may be, to the encouragement and benefite of our Countriemen.¹

This exhortation to King Henrie the eight, with the discourse to Doctor Ley his Ambassadors in Spaine, was preserved by one master Emmanuel Lucar, executour to master Robert Thorne, and was friendly imparted unto me by master Cyprian Lucar his sonne, an honest Gentleman and very forward to further any good and laudable action.² And that it may be knowne that this motion tooke present effect with the king, I thought it good herewithall to put downe the testimonie of our Chronicle that the king set out shippes for this discoverie in his life time.

¹ Why this project was never carried into execution, and what became of Cabot's papers, remains an unsolved mystery.

² The Thorne documents had been used by Anthony Jenkinson in 1565 (see E. G. R. Taylor, *Tudor Geography*, p. 98). On March 11, 1582, Richard Madox wrote in his Diary: "I supped in Botolph Lane at Mr^s Lucers. She hath 3 sons, Ciprian, Mark, John, and her daughter Mary who plays well on ye lute. She gave me a piece of bark which her cousin Emanuel that went with Sir Francis Drake sent her" (Cotton MSS. Titus B viii). An Emanuel Watkins was with Drake, the only gentleman with this Christian name. Madox was chaplain on Fenton's voyage.

Document 34

NOTE BY RICHARD HAKLUYT, PREFACED TO *DIVERS VOYAGES*, 1582

A verie late and great probabilitie of a passage, by the Northwest part of America in 58 degrees of Northerly latitude.

An excellent learned man of Portingale, of singular gravity, authoritie and experience told mee very lately,¹ that one Anus Cortereal, capteyne of the yle of Tercera about the yeere 1574, which is not above eight yeeres past, sent a shippe to discover the Northwest passage of America, and that the same shippe arriving on the coast of the said America in fifty eight degrees of latitude, found a great entrance exceeding deepe and broade, without all impediment of ice, into which they passed above twenty leagues, and found it always to trende towarde the south, the lande lying lowe and plaine on eyther side: And that they persuaded themselves verely that there was a way open into the south sea. But their victails fayling them, and being but one shippe, they returned back againe with joy.² This place seemeth to lie in equal degrees of latitude with the first entrance of the Sounde of Denmark betweene Norway and the head land called in latin *Cimbrosium promontorium*, and therefore like to be open and navigable a greate parte of the yeere. And this report may bee well annexed unto the other eight reasons mentioned in my epistle dedicatorie, for prooffe of the likelihood of this passage up the Northwest.

¹ The Portuguese Ambassador, Don Antonio de Castilio, who left London in April 1582, was interviewed by Hakluyt in March.

² There is no confirmation of this story from other sources, nor is it in accordance with facts. The mouth of Hudson's Strait is in 62°, and it trends north of west, with high ground on either side. Don Antonio wished, perhaps, to impress the young Englishman.



MAP OF NORUMBEGA

From Ramusio's "V'aggi" 1556

Document 35

RICHARD HAKLUYT'S PREFACE TO *DIVERS VOYAGES*, 1582

To the right worshipfull and most virtuous Gentleman, master PHILIP SYDNEY Esquire.

I marvaile not a little (right worshipfull) that since the first discoverie of America (which is now full fourscore and tenne yeares) after so great conquest and plantings of the Spaniards & Portingales there, that we of England could never have the grace to set fast footing in such fertill and temperate places, as are left as yet unpossessed by them. But againe when I consider that there is a time for all men, and see the Portingales time to be out of date,¹ and that the nakedness of the Spaniards, and ther long hidden secretes are now at length espied,² whereby they went about to delude the worlde, I conceive gret hope, that the time approacheth and nowe is, that we of England may share and part stakes (if we will ourselves) both with the Spaniarde and the Portingale in part of America, and other regions as yet undiscovered.

And surely if there were in us that desire to advance the honour of our Countrie which ought to bee in every good man, we would not all this while have foreslown³ the possessing of those landes, which of equitie and right appertain unto us, as by the discourses that followe shall appere most plainly.⁴ Yea, if we woulde beholde with the eye of pitie how al our prisons are pestered and filled with able men to serve their Countrie, which for smal robberies are dayly hanged up in great numbers, som twentie at a clappe out of one jayle (as was seene at the last assises at Rochester) wee would hasten and further every man to his power the deducting of some Colonies of our superfluous

¹ Owing to the union with Spain.

² By Drake and others.

³ Put off.

⁴ Hakluyt here rests the English claim on first discovery.

people into those temperate and fertile partes of America, which being within sixe weekes sayling of England are yet unpossessed by any Christians: and seeme to offer themselves unto us, stretching neerer unto her Majesties Dominions, then to any other part of Europe.

We reade that the Bees, when they grow to be too many in their own hive at home, are wont to be led out by their Captaines to swarme abroad, and seeke themselves a new dwelling place. If the examples of the Grecians and Carthaginians of olde time, and the practice of our age may not move us, yet let us learn wisdom of these smal weake and unreasonable creatures.

*The speech
of a learned
Portingale.*

It chaunced very lately that upon occasion I had great conference in matters of Cosmographie with an excellent learned man of Portingale,¹ most privie to all the discoveries of his nation, who wondered that those blessed countries, from the point of Florida northward, were all this while unplanted by Christians, protesting with great affection and zeale, that if he were nowe as young as I (for at this present he is three score yeres of age) he would sel all he had, (being a man of no small wealth and honour) to furnish a convenient number of ships to sea for the inhabiting of those countries, and reducing those gentile people to christianitie. Moreover he added that John Barros, their chief Cosmographer, being moved with the like desire, was the cause that Bresilia was first inhabited by the Portingales: where they have nine baronies or lordships, and thirty engennies or suger milles, two or three hundred slaves belonging to eche myll, with a Judge and other officers, and a Church: so that every mill is as it were a little commonwealth; and that the country was first planted by such men as for small offences were saved from the rope. This spake hee not only unto mee and in my hearing, but also in the presence of a friend of mine, a man of great skil in the Mathematikes.² If this mans desire might be executed, we might not only for the present time take possession of that good land, but also in short space by Gods grace finde out that shorte and easie passage by the Northwest, which we have hitherto so long desired, and whereof

*Master John
Barros the
cause of the
inhabiting of
Bresilia.*

¹ Don Antonio de Castiio.

² Either Walter Warner or Thomas Hariot, most probably. See *supra*, p. 25.

we have made many good and more then probable conjectures: a few whereof I thinke it not amisse here to set downe, although your worship know them as well as myselfe.

First therefore, it is not to be forgotten, that Sebastian Gabot wrote to Master Baptista Ramusius, that he veryly believed that all the North part of America is divided into Ilandes. Secondly that Master John Verarzanus, which had been thrise on that coast, in an olde excellent mappe which he gave to Henrie the eight, and is yet in the custodie of master Locke,¹ doth so lay it out, as it is to be seene in the mappe annexed to the end of this booke, being made according to Verarzanus plat. Thirdly, the story of Gil Gonsalva recorded by Franciscus Lopes de Gomara, which is saide to have sought a passage by the North west, seemeth to argue and prove the same. Fourthly, in the second relation of Jaques Cartier the 12 chapter, the people of Saguinay doe testifie that upon their coastes westwarde there is a sea the end whereof is unknowne unto them. Fiftly, in the end of that discourse is added this; as a special remembrance, to wit, that they of Canada say that it is a monthes space to saile to a lande where cinamon and cloves are growing. Sixthly, the people of Florida signified unto John Ribault (as it is expressed in his discourse herewithall inprinted) that they might saile from the River of May unto Cevola and the South Sea through ther country within twenty dayes.² Seventhly, the experience of captaine Frobisher on the hyther side, and Sir Francis Drake on the backe side of America, with the testimonie of Nicolaus and Anthonie Zeni, that Estotiland is an Iland, doth yelde no small hope thereof. Lastly, the judgement of the excellent geographer Gerardus Mercator, which his sonne Rumold Mercator, my friend, shewed me in his letters, and drewe out for me in writing, is not of wise men lightly to bee regarded. His words are these *Magna tamet si pauca de nova Frobisneri navigatione scribis, quam miror ante multos annos non fuisse attentatam. Non enim dubium est, quin recta et brevis via pateat in occidentem Cathaium usque. In quod regnum si recte navigantium instituant nobilissimas totius*

¹ Michael Lok, secretary to the Muscovy Company, whose map, dedicated to Sir Philip Sidney, was published by Hakluyt.

² John Dee's map, dated 1580, suggests this supposed inland water-way.

mundi merces colligent, et multis Gentibus adhuc idololatri Christi nomen communicabant.

You write (saith he to his sonne) great matters, though very briefly, of the newe discoverie of Frobisher, which I wonder was never these many years heretofore attempted. For there is no doubt but that there is a straight and short way open into the West even unto Cathay. Into which kingdome, if they take their course aright, they shall gather the most noble merchandise of all the worlde, and shall make the name of Christe to be known unto many idolaterous and heathen people.

*A lawe made
of late by
King Phillip.*

And here to conclude and shut up this matter, I have herd myself of Merchants of credite that have lived long in Spaine, that King Phillip hath made a lawe of late that none of his subjectes shall discover to the Northwardes of five and forty degrees of America: which maye be thought to procede chiefly of two causes, the one, least passing to the North they shall discover the open passage from the South Sea to our north sea: the other because they have not people enough to possesse and keep that passage, but rather thereby shoulde open a gappe for other nations to pass that way. Certes, if hetherto in our own discoveries we had not been led with a preposterous desire of seeking rather gaine then God's glorie, I assure myself that our labours had taken farre better effecte.¹ But wee forgotte, that Godliness is great riches, and that if we first seeke the kingdome of God, al other thinges will be given unto us, and that as the light accompanieth the Sunne and the heate the fire, so lasting riches do wait upon them that are jealous for the advancement of the Kingdome of Christ, and the enlargement of his glorious Gospell: as it is sayd, I will honour them that honour mee. I trust that now being taught by their manifold losses, our men will take a more godly course, and use some part of their goodes to his glory: if not, he will turne even ther covetousnes to serve him, as he hath done the pride and avarice of the Spaniards & Portingales, who pretending in glorious words that they made ther discoveries chiefly to convert infidelles to our most holy faith (as they say) in deed and truth sought not them, but their goods and riches.

¹ The second and third Frobisher expeditions looked for gold ore rather than a passage.

Whiche thing that our nation may more speedily and happily performe, there is no better meane in my simple judgement then the increase of knowledge in the arte of navigation and breeding of skilfullness in seamen: which Charles the Emperour and the King of Spaine that nowe is, wisely considering, have in their Contractation house in Sivill appointed a learned reader of the sayde art of Navigation, and joyned with him certayne examiners, & have distinguished the orders among the sea men, as the groomet which is the basest degree, the mariner which is the seconde, the master the thirde, and the pilote the fourth. Unto the which two last degrees none is admitted without hee have heard the reader for a certaine space (which is commonly an excellent Mathematician, of which number were Pedro de Medina which writte learnedly of the art of navigation, and Alonso di Chavez and Hieronimus di Chavez,¹ whose workes likewise I have seene) and being founde fitte by him and his assistantes, which are to examine matters touching experience, they are admitted with as great solemnitie and giving of presents to the ancient master and Pilots, and the readers and examiners, as the great doctors in the Universities, or our great Sergeantes at the law when they proceed, and so are admitted to take charge for the Indies.

And that your worshippe may knowe that this is true, Master Steven Burrough, now one of the foure masters of the Queenes navie, tolde me that newly after his returne from the discovery of Muscovy by the North,² in Queen Maries daye, the Spaniards, having intelligence that he was master in that discoverie, toke him into their contractation house at their making and admitting of masters and pilots, giving him great honour, and presented him with a payre of perfumed gloves woorth five or sixe Ducates.

I speake all this to the ende, that the like order of erecting such a lecturer here in London or about Ratcliffe in some convenient place, were a matter of great consequence and importance, for the saving of many mens lives and goods, which nowe through grosse ignorance are dayly in great hazard, to the no small

¹ The latter published *Tractado de la Sphera* in 1545.

² In 1556.

*The
bountifull
offer of Sir
Francis
Drake
toward
furthering the
art of
Navigation.*

detriment of the whole realme. For which cause I have dealt with the right worshipfull Sir Francis Drake, that seeing God hath blessed him so wonderfully, he woulde do this honour to himselfe and benefit to his country, to be at the cost to erect such a lecture: Whereunto in most bountifull maner at the verie first he answered, that he liked so wel of the notion, that he would give twentie poundes by the yere standing, and twentie poundes more before hand to a learned man to furnish him with instruments and maps, that would take this thing upon him: yea so readie he was, that he earnestly requested me to helpe him to the notice of a fitte man for that purpose, which I, for the zeale I beare to this good action, did presently and brought him one,¹ who came unto him and conferred with him thereupon: but in fine he would not undertake the lecture, unlesse he might have fourtie pound a yeere standing, and so the matter ceased for that time: howbeit the worthie and good knight remaineth still constant, and will be, as he told me very lately, as good as his worde. Now if God shall put into the head of any Nobleman to contribute the twentie pounds, to make this lecture a competent living for a learned man, the whole realme no doubt might reepe no small benefit thereby.

*John Gabote
and his three
sonnes.*

To leave this matter and to draw to an end, I have here right worshipfull in this hastie worke, first put downe the title which we have to that part of America which is from Florida to 67 degrees northwarde, by the letters patents granted to John Gabote and his three sonnes, Lewis, Sebastian and Santius, with Sebastians own certificates to Baptista Ramusius of his discoverie of America, and the testimonie of Fabian, our own Chronicler. Next I have caused to be added the letters of M. Robert Thorne to King Henrie the eight, and his discourse to his Ambassadour doctor Ley in Spain of the like argument, with the kings setting out of two ships for discoverie in the 19 yere of his raigne.² Then I have translated the voyage of John Verarzanus from thirtie degrees to Cape Briton, (and the last yere at my charges, and other of my friendes by my exhortation, I caused Jaques Cartiers two voyages of discovering the grand

¹ Presumably Warner, or Hariot.

² See Hak. Soc. Pub. vol. 69 (2nd series).

Bay, and Canada, Saguinay, and Hochelaga to be translated out of my Volumes,¹ which are to be annexed to this present translation). Moreover, following the order of the map, and not the course of time, I have put down the discourse of Nicholas & Antonio Zenie. The last treatise of John Ribault, is a thing that hath been already printed, but not now to be had, unless I had caused it to be printed againe. The mappe is master Michael Lockes, a man for his knowledge in divers languages & especially in Cosmographie, able to doe his country good, & worthie in my judgment, for the manifold good partes in him, of good reputation & better fortune.² This cursorie pamphlet I am over bold to present unto your worshippe: but I had rather want a litle discretion, than to be founde unthankful to him, which hath been alwaies so readie to pleasure me and all my name.³

Here I cease, craving pardon for my own boldness, trusting also that your worshippe will continue & increase your accustomed favour towarde these godly and honourable discoveries.

Your worshippes humble always to commande,

R. H.⁴

¹ By John Florio. By 'the last yere' Hakluyt must mean 'within two years' of the time of writing.

² Lok had only recently been released from his unjust imprisonment.

³ Sidney must have known Hakluyt's brothers at Oxford, and his cousin in London.

⁴ In a letter to Camden written from Oxford on June 6, 1582, Thomas Savile says: "...Rumor est apud nos Hackluyti nonnulla jamdudum praelo subjecta; nec apparet quicquam, ut timor me ceperit iniquius pressa excessisse è vivis." Presumably the work in the press was the *Divers Voyages*.

Document 36

NOTES ON THE LEVANT TRADE BY RICHARD HAKLUYT, Lawyer, 1582

A briefe Remembrance of things to be indeuoured at Constantinople, and in other places in Turkie, touching our Clothing and our Dying, and things that bee incident to the same, and touching ample vent of our naturall commodities, & of the labour of our poore people withall, and of the generall enriching of this Realme: drawen by M. RICHARD HAKLUYT of the middle Temple, and given to a friend that was sent into Turkie 1582.¹

1 Anile² wherewith we colour Blew to be brought into this realme by seed or roote.

2 And the Arte of compounding the same.

3 And also all other herbes used in dying in like maner to bee brought in.

4 And all Trees, whose Leaves, Seedes, or Barkes, or Wood doe serve to that use, to be brought into this realme by Seed or Roote.

5 All little Plants and Buskes³ serving to that use to be brought in.

6 To learne to know all earths and minerals forren used in dying, and their naturall places, for possible the like may here be found upon sight.

7 Also with the materials used in dying, to bring in the excellencie of the arte of dying.

8 To procure from Muhaisira a citie in Ægypt to Constanti-
nople, the seed of Sesamum the herbe, and the same into this

¹ This piece was not published in the 1589 edition of the *Principal Navigations*.

² Indigo. An Act of Parliament of 1581 had forbidden the use of logwood, and made other regulations against 'deceitful' dyeing.

³ Bushes, a dialect form.

realme. Common trade is betweene Alexandria and Constanti-nople, and therefore you may easily procure the seeds. Of this seed much oyle is made, and many mills set on worke about the same in the sayd Muhaisira, and if this seede may prosper in England, infinite benefite to our Clothing trade may rise by the same. This citie is situate upon Nilus the river, and thence this is brought to Venice and to divers other Cities of Italie, and to Antwerpe.¹

9 To note all kindes of clothing² in Turkie, and all degrees of their labour in the same.

10 To endeavour rather the vent of Kersies, then of other Clothes as a thing more beneficiall to our people.

11 To endeavour the sale of such our clothes as bee coloured with our owne naturall colours as much as you can, rather then such as be coloured with forren colours.

12 To seeke out a vent for our Bonettos, a cap made for Barbarie, for that the poore people may reape great profite by the trade.

13 To endeavour vent of knit Stocks³ made of Norwich yarne,⁴ & of other yarne, which brought to great trade, may turne our poore people to great benefite, besides the vent of the substance, of our colours, and of our divers labour.

14 To endeavor a vent of our Saffron for the benefit of our poore people: for a large vent found, it setteth many on worke.

¹ The *sesamum* of Muhaisira is described by Leo Africanus. Hakluyt was anxious to supersede olive oil, imported from Spain.

² Cloth-making.

³ Stockings.

⁴ Worsted.

Document 37

NOTES FOR A FACTOR AT CONSTANTINOPLE BY RICHARD HAKLUYT, Lawyer, 1582

Remembrances for master S.¹ to give him the better occasion to informe himselfe of some things in England, and after of some other things in Turkie, to the great profite of the Common weale of this Countrey. Written by the foresayd master RICHARD HAKLUYT, for a principall English Factor at Constantinople 1582.

Since all men confesse (that be not barbarously bred) that men are borne as well to seeke the common commoditie of their Countrey, as their owne private benefite, it may seeme follie to perswade that point, for each man meaneth so to doe. But wherein men should seeke the common commoditie, and what way, and by what meane that is to bee brought about, is the point or summe of the matter, since every good man is ready to imploy his labour. This is to bee done by an infinite sort of meanes, as the number of things bee infinite that may bee done for common benefite of the Realme. And as the chiefe things so to bee done be divers, so are they to bee done by divers men, as they bee by wit and maner of education more fit, or lesse fit, for this and for that. And for that of many things that tend to the common benefite of the State, some tend more, and some lesse, I finde that no one thing, after one other, is greater then Clothing, and the things incident to the same. And understanding that you are of right good capacitie, and become a Factor at Constantinople, and in other partes in Turkie, I finde no man fitter of all the English Factors there, then you. And therefore I am so bold to put you in minde, and to tell you wherein with some indeavour you may chaunce to doe your Countrey much good, and give an infinite sorte of the poore people occasion to pray for you here

¹ 'Master S.' has not been identified.

throughout the Realme: this that I meane is in matter of Cloth, &c.

- 1 First, you cannot denie but that this Realme yeeldeth the most fine Wooll, the most soft, the most strong Wooll, the most durable in Cloth, and most apte of nature of all other to receive Die, and that no Island or any one kingdome so small doeth yeeld so great abundance of the same: and that no Wooll is lesse subject to mothes, or to fretting in presse, then this, as the old Parliament robes of Kings, & of many noble Peeres to be shewed may plainly testifie.
- 2 There is no commoditie of this Realme that may set so many poore subjects on worke, as this doeth, that doeth bring in so much treasure, and so much enrich the merchant, and so much employ the Navie¹ of this Realme, as this commoditie of our Wooll doeth.

Ample and full Vent of this noble and rich commoditie is it that the common weale of this realme doeth require.

Spaine nowe aboundeth with Wools, and the same are Clothed.² Turkie hath Wools, and so have divers provinces of Christendome and of Heathenesse, and cloth is made of the same in divers places.

1 But if England have the most fine, and the most excellent Wools of the world in all respects (as it cannot bee denied, but it hath) 2 If there may bee added to the same, excellent artificiall,³ and true making, and excellent dying, 3 Then no doubt but that we shall have vent for our Clothes, although the rest of the world did abound much more with Wool then it doeth, and although their workemanship and their dying were in every degree equal with ours of England, unlesse the labour of our people employed that way, and the materials used in dying should be the cause of the contrary by dearth.⁴

But if Forren nations turne their Wools, inferiour to ours, into truer and more excellent made cloth, and shall die the same in truer, surer, and more excellent, and more delectable colours, then shall they sell and make ample vent of their Clothes, when

¹ These four objects of commercial policy are constantly stressed by the two Hakluyts.

² Made into cloth.

³ Skilful.

⁴ Dearness.

the English cloth of better wooll shall rest unsold, to the spoyle¹ of the Merchant, of the Clothier, and of the breeder of the wooll, and to the turning to bag and wallet² of the infinite number of the poore people imploied in clothing in severall degrees³ of labour here in England.

Which things wayed, I am to tell you what things I wish you in this Realme, and after in Turkie, to indeavour from time to time, as your laisure may permit the same.

Before you goe out of the Realme, that you learne:

1 To know wooll, all kind of clothes made in this realme, and all other employments of wooll, home or forren, be ye same in Felt clokes, felt hats, in the red knit cap for Barbarie, called Bonettos rugios colorados, or whatsoever, &c.

All the deceits in Clothmaking;⁴ as the sorting together of Wools of severall natures, some of nature to shrinke, some to hold out, which causeth cloth to cockle and lie uneven.

The evill sorting of threed of good or bad wool, some tootoo hard spun, some tootoo soft spun delivered to be woven.

The faults in Weaving.

The faults in Walking,⁵ Rowing,⁶ and Burling,⁷ and in Racking the Clothes above measure upon the Teintors:⁸ all which faults may be learned of honest men, which faults are to be knownen to the merchant, to be shunned and not to be used.

2 Then to learne of the Diers to discerne all kind of colours; as which be good and sure, and which will not hold: which be faire, which not; which colours by the dearth of the substances bee deare, and which by reason of the cheapenesse of the Materials with which they be died, be cheape colours.

3 Then to take the names of all the materials and substaunces used in this Citie or in the realme, in dying of cloth or silke.

To learne to know them, as which be good, which bad.

And what colours they die.

¹ Damage.

² Beggary.

³ Ways.

⁴ Roger Bodenham, in his *Tract* of 1571, emphasised the need for standardising the quality of English cloth offered for export.

⁵ Fulling.

⁶ Roving.

⁷ Removing knots and lumps.

⁸ Over-stretching the cloth. To prevent this deceit, the minimum weight of a length of cloth was laid down by Act of Parliament.

And what prices they be of.

And of them which bee the Naturals of this Realme, and in what part of the Realme they are to be had.

And of all the forren materials used in dying to know the very naturall places of them, and the plentie or the scarcenesse of each of them.

These things superficially learned in the realme before you goe, you are the fitter in forren parts to serve your Countrey, for by this meanes you have an enterie into the thing that I wish you to travell in.

What you shall doe in Turkie, besides the businesse of
your Factorship.

1 Forasmuch as it is reported that the Woollen clothes died in Turkie bee most excellently died, you shall send home into this realme certaine Mowsters¹ or pieces of Shew to be brought to the Diers hall, there to be shewed, partly to remoove out of their heads, the tootoo great opinion they have conceived of their owne cunning,² and partly to moove them for shame to endeavour to learne more knowledge to the honour of their countrey of England, and to the universall benefit of the realme.³

2 You shall devise to amend the Dying of England, by carying hence an apte yoong man brought up in the Arte, or by bringing one or other from thence of skill, or rather to devise to bring one for Silkes, and another for Wooll and for Woollen cloth, and if you cannot worke this by ordinarie meanes, then to worke it by some great Bassas⁴ meane, or if your owne credite there be not sufficient by meane of your small abode in those parties, to worke it by the helpe of the French ambassador there resident,⁵ for which purpose you may insinuate your selfe into his acquaintance, and otherwise to leave no meane unsought that tendeth to this end, wherein you are to doe as circumstances may permit.

¹ Samples.

² Skill.

³ The sentence suggests that Hakluyt had himself tried to break down the conservatism and lack of enterprise of the Dyers' Company.

⁴ Pasha's.

⁵ In 1582 the French were making a strong bid for Near Eastern trade. The first English ambassador was appointed in January 1583.

3 Then to learne to know all the materials and substances that the Turkes use in dying, be they of Herbes, simple or compound, be they Plants, Barkes, Wood, Berries, Seedes, Graines, or Minerall matter, or what els soever. But before all other, such things as yeeld those famous colours that carrie such speciall report of excellencie, that our Merchaunts may bring them to this realme by ordinarie trade, as a right meane for the better vent of our clothes.

4 To know the use of those, and where the naturall place of them and of ech of them is, I meane the place where ech of them groweth or is bred.

5 And in any wise, if Anile that coloureth blew be a naturall commodity of those parts, and if it be compounded of an herbe, to send the same into this realme by seed or by root in barrell of earth, with all the whole order of sowing, setting, planting, replanting, and with the compounding of the same, that it may become a naturall commodity in this realme as Woad is, to this end that the high price of forreine Woad (which devoureth yeerely great treasure) may be brought downe.¹ So shall the marchant buy his cloth lesse deare, and so he shalbe able to occupy with lesse stocke,² be able to affoord cloth cheaper, make more ample vent, and also become a greater gainer himselfe, and all this to the benefit of this realme.

6 To do the like with herbe & plant, or tree that in dying is of any excellent use, as to send the same by seed, berry, root, &c: for by such meanes Saffron was brought first into this realme, which hath set many poore on worke, and brought great wealth into this realme. Thus may Sumack, the plant wherewith the most excellent blacks be died in Spaine, be brought out of Spaine, and out of the Ilands of the same, if it will grow in this more colde climat. For thus was Woad brought into this realme, and came to good perfection, to the great losse of the French our olde enemies. And it doth marvellously import this realme to make naturall in this realme such things as be special in the dying of our clothes. And to speake of such things as colour

¹ Home-grown supplies were small, as the attempt to establish industrial crops in England met with great opposition.

² Work with smaller capital.

blew, they are of greatest use, and are grounds of the most excellent colours, and therefore of all other to be brought into this realme, be it Anile or any other materiall of that quality.

7 And because yellowes and greenes are colours of small prices in this realme, by reason that Olde¹ and Greenweed² wherewith they be died be naturall here, and in great plenty, therefore to bring our clothes so died to common sale in Turkie were to the great benefit of the marchant, and other poore subjects of this realme, for in sale of such our owne naturall colours we consume not our treasure in forren colours, and yet we sell our owne trifles dearely perhaps.

8 The woolles being naturall, and excellent colours for dying becomming by this meanes here also naturall, in all the arte of Clothing then we want but one onely speciall thing. For in this so temperate a climat our people may labor the yere thorowout, whereas in some regions of the world they cannot worke for extreme heat, as in some other regions they cannot worke for extreme colde a good part of the yere. And the people of this realme by the great and blessed abundance of victuall are cheaply fed, and therefore may afoord their labour cheape. And where the Clothiers in Flanders by the flatnesse of their rivers cannot make Walkmilles³ for their clothes, but are forced to thicken and dresse all their clothes by the foot and by the labour of men, whereby their clothes are raised to an higher price, we of England have in all Shires store of milles upon falling rivers. And these rivers being in temperate zones are not dried up in Summer with drought and heat as the rivers be in Spaine and in hotter regions, nor frozen up in Winter as all the rivers be in all the North regions of the world: so as our milles may go and worke at all times, and dresse clothes cheaply. Then we have also for scowring our clothes earths and claies, as Walkers clay,⁴ and the clay of Osborne⁵ little inferior to Sope in scowring and in thicking. Then also have we some reasonable store of Alum⁶ and Copporas⁷ here made for dying, and are like to have increase of the same. Then we have many good waters apt for dying, and people

¹ I.e. Welde: *Reseda luteola*.

² *Genista tinctoria*.

³ Fulling mills.

⁴ Fuller's earth.

⁵ Woburn, Beds.

⁶ Used as a mordant.

⁷ Sulphate of iron used in dyeing black.

to spin and to doe the rest of all the labours we want not. So as there wanteth, if colours might be brought in and made naturall, but onely Oile:¹ the want whereof if any man could devise to supply at the full with any thing that might become naturall in this realme, he whatsoever he were that could bring it about, might deserve immortall fame in this our Common wealth, and such a devise was offered to the Parliamēt and refused, because they denied to endow him with a certaine liberty, some others having obtained the same before, that practised to worke that effect by Radish seed, which onely made a triall of small quantity, and that went no further, to make that Oile in plenty: and now he that offered this devise was a marchant, and is dead, and withall the devise is dead with him.²

It is written by one that wrote of Afrike,³ that in Egypt in a city called Muhaisira there be many milles employed in making of Oile of the seed of an herbe called Sesamum. Pena and Lobell, Physicians, write in our time,⁴ that this herbe is a codded herbe full of oily seed, and that there is plenty of this seede brought out of Egypt to divers Cities in Italy. If this herbe will prosper in this realme, our marchants may easily bring of it, &c.

9 Having heerein thus troubled you by raising to your minde the consideration of certaine things, it shall not be impertinent to tell you that it shall not be amisse that you note all the order of the degrees of labour used in Turkey, in the arte of Clothing, and to see if any way they excell in that profession our people of these parts, and to bring notice of the same into this realme.

10 And if you shall finde that they make any cloth of any kind not made in this realme, that is there of great use, then to bring of the same into this realme some Mowsters, that our people may fall into the trade, and prepare the same for Turkie: for the more kinds of cloth we can devise to make, the more ample vent of our commoditie we shall have, and the more sale of the labour of our poore subjects that els for lacke of labour become idle and burdenous to the common weale, and hurtfull to many: and in England we are in our clothing trade to frame

¹ To replace olive oil.

² There is no record of this experiment. Rape seed oil was made in England.

³ Leo Africanus.

⁴ In their *Stirpium*. See *supra*, p. 45 n. 2.

our selves according to the desires of forren nations, be it that they desire thicke or thinne, broad or narowe, long or short, white or blacke.¹

11 But with this proviso alwayes, that our cloth passe out with as much labour of our people as may be, wherein great consideration ought to be had: for (if vent might so admit it) as it were the greatest madnesse in the world for us to vent our wooll not clothed, so were it madnesse to vent our wooll in part or in the whole turned into broad cloth, if we might vent the same in Kersies: for there is great difference in profit to our people betweene the clothing of a sacke of wooll in the one, and the like sacke of wooll in the other, of which I wish the marchant of England to have as great care as he may for the universall benefit of the poore: and the turning of a sacke of wooll into Bonets is better then both &c. And also not to cary out of the realme any cloth white, but died if it may be, that the subjects of this realme may take as much benefit as is possible, and rather to seeke the vent of the clothes died with the naturall colours of England, then such as be died with forren colours.

12 And if of necessity we must be forced to receive certaine colours from forren parts, for that this climat will not breed them, I wish that our marchants procure Anile² and such other things to be planted in like climats where now it growes, in divers other places,³ that this realme may have that brought in for as base prices as is possible, and that falling out with one place we may receive the same from another, and not buy the same at the second or the third hand &c. For if a commodity that is to be had of meere necessity, be in one hand, it is dearly purchased.

1 How many severall colours be died is to be learned of our Diers before you depart.

2 Then how many of those colours England doth die of her owne naturall home materials and substances, and how many not.

3 Then to bring into this realme herbs and plants to become naturall in our soiles, that may die the rest of the colours, that

¹ Hakluyt found the English cloth-makers very conservative in this respect.

² Indigo.

³ To avoid monopoly prices.

presently of our owne things here growing we can not yet die, and this from all forren places.

4 There is a wood called Logwood or Palo Campechio, it is cheape and yeeldeth a glorious blew, but our workmen can not make it sure.¹ This wood you must take with you, and see whether the Silke diers or Wooll diers in Turky can doe it, with this one you may enrich your selfe very much, and therefore it is to be endeavoured earnestly by you. It may bring downe the price of Woad and of Anile.

Other some things to be remembred.

If you can finde out at Tripoly in Syria or elsewhere a vent for the Cappes called in Barbarie, Bonettos colorados rugios, which is a red Scottish cap as it were without brims, you should do your countrey much good: for as a sacke of wooll turned into fine Devonshire kersies doth set many more people on worke then a sacke spunne for broad cloth in a grosser threed, so a sacke of wooll turned into those Bonets doth set many more poore people on worke, then a sacke turned into Kersies, by reason of the knitting. And therefore if you can indeavour that, you worke great effect. And no doubt that a marvellous vent may be found out of them into Afrike by the way of Alexandria, and by Alcayer Southeast and Southwest thence.²

2 And by the vent of our knit hose of Woollen yarne, Woorsted yarne, and of Linnen thred, great benefit to our people may arise, and a great value in fine Kersies and in those knit wares may be couched in a small roome in the ship. And for these things our people are growen apt, and by indeavour may be drawn to great trade.

3 Saffron the best of the universall world groweth in this realme, and forasmuch as it is a thing that requireth much labour in divers sorts, and setteth the people on worke so plentifully, I wish you to see whether you can finde out ample vent for the same, since it is gone out of great use in those parts. It is a spice that is cordiall, and may be used in meats, and that is excellent in dying of yellow silks. This commodity of Saffron groweth fifty miles from Tripoli in Syria, on an high hill called in those parts

¹ The colour is very evanescent.

² Cf. p. 324. Alcayer is Cairo.

Garian, so as there you may learne at that port of Tripoli the value of the pound, the goodnesse of it, and the places of the vent. But it is sayd that from that hill there passeth yerely of that commodity fifteene moiles laden, and that those regions notwithstanding lacke sufficiencie of that commodity. But if a vent might be found, men would in Essex about Saffronwalden and in Cambridge shire revive the trade for the benefit of the setting of the poore on work. So would they doe in Hereford shire by Wales, where the best of all England is, in which place the soile yeelds the wilde Saffron¹ commonly, which sheweth the naturall inclination of the same soile to the bearing of the right Saffron, if the soile be manured and that way employed.

4 There is a walled towne not farre from Barbarie, called Hubbed,² toward the South from the famous towne Telensin, about six miles: the inhabitants of which towne in effect be all Diers. And it is sayd that thereabout they have plenty of Anile, & that they occupy that, and also that they use there in their dyings, of the Saffron aforesayd. The trueth whereof, in the Southerly ports of the Mediteran sea, is easily learned in your passage to Tripoli,³ or in returne from thence homeward you may understand it. It is reported at Saffronwalden that a Pilgrim purposing to do good to his country, stole an head of Saffron, and hid the same in his Palmers staffe, which he had made hollow before of purpose, and so he brought this root into this realme, with venture of his life: for if he had bene taken, by the law of the countrey from whence it came, he had died for the fact. If the like love in this our age were in our people that now become great travellers, many knowledges, and many trades, and many herbes and plants might be brought into this realme that might doe the realme good. And the Romans having that care, brought from all coasts of the world into Italie all arts and sciences, and all kinds of beasts and fowles, and all herbs, trees, busks and plants that might yeeld profit or pleasure to their countrey of Italie. And if this care had not bene heretofore in our ancesters, then had our life bene savage now, for then we

¹ Autumn crocus.

² This information is from Leo Africanus.

³ Presumably Tripoli in Barbary which was under the government of the Grand Turk.

had not had Wheat nor Rie, Peaze nor Beanes, Barley nor Oats, Peare nor Apple, Vine nor many other profitable and pleasant plants, Bull nor Cow, Sheepe nor Swine, Horse nor Mare, Cocke nor Hen, nor a number of other things that we injoy, without which our life were to be sayd barbarous: for these things and a thousand that we use more the first inhabitants of this Iland found not here. And in time of memory things have bene brought in that were not here before, as the Damaske rose by Doctour Linaker¹ king Henry the seventh and king Henrie the eights Physician, the Turkey cocks and hennes about fifty yeres past, the Artichowe in time of king Henry the eight, and of later time was procured out of Italy the Muske rose plant, the plumme called the Perdigwena, and two kindes more by the Lord Cromwell after his travell, and the Abricot by a French Priest one Wolfe Gardiner to king Henry the eight:² and now within these foure yeeres there have bene brought into England from Vienna in Austria divers kinds of flowers called Tulipas,³ and those and other procured thither a little before from Constantinople by an excellent man called M. Carolus Clusius.⁴ And it is sayd that since we traded to Zante⁵ that the plant that beareth the Coren⁶ is also brought into this realme from thence: and although it bring not fruit to perfection, yet it may serve for pleasure and for some use, like as our vines doe, which we cannot well spare, although the climat so colde will not permit us to have good wines of them. And many other things have bene brought in, that have degenerated by reason of the colde climat, some other things brought in have by negligence bene lost. The Archbishop of Canterburie Edmund Grindall, after he returned out of Germany, brought into this realme the plant of Tamariske⁷ from thence, and this plant he hath so increased that there be here thousands of them; and many people have received great health by this plant: and if of things brought in such care were had, then could not the first labour be lost. The seed of

¹ Founder of the Royal College of Physicians.

² In 1524. "Sir John Wulfe, maker and deviser of the King's Arbours and planter of the grafts," was still in the Royal service in 1542.

³ In 1578.

⁴ See *supra*, p. 45 n.

⁵ In the reign of Henry VIII.

⁶ Currant.

⁷ In 1569.

Tabacco hath bene brought hither out of the West Indies, it groweth heere, and with the herbe many have bene eased of the reumes,¹ &c. Each one of a great number of things were woorthy of a journey to be made into Spaine, Italy, Barbarie, Egypt, Zante, Constantinople, the West Indies, and to divers other places neerer and further off then any of these, yet foras-much as the poore are not able, and for that the rich settled at home in quiet will not, therefore we are to make sute to such as repaire to forren kingdomes, for other businesses, to have some care heerein, and to set before their eyes the examples of these good men, and to endeavour to do for their parts the like, as their speciall businesses may permit the same. Thus giving you occasion by way of a little remembrance, to have a desire to do your countrey good, you shall, if you have any inclination to such good, do more good to the poore ready to starve for reliefe, then ever any subject did in this realme by building of Almeshouses, and by giving of lands and goods to the reliefe of the poore. Thus may you helpe to drive idlenesse the mother of most mischiefs out of the realme, and winne you perpetuall fame, and the prayer of the poore, which is more woorth then all the golde of Peru and of all the West Indies.²

¹ It replaced henbane, normally used as an inhalant. Tobacco smoking is described in *Stirpium Adversaria Nova*. Hakluyt's knowledge of plants is remarkable. He had probably studied Dr Bulleyne's *Bulwark of Defence*, 1562, but much of his information cannot be found in any printed work.

² His remedy for unemployment was sound.

Document 38

LETTERS FROM SIR F. WALSINGHAM, 1583

SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM to THOS. ALDWORTH, Mayor of Bristol.

After my hearty commendations, I have for certain causes deferred the answer of your letter of November last¹ till now, which I hope cometh all in good time. For your good inclination to the Western discoverie I cannot but much commend. And for that Sir Humfrey Gilbert, as you have heard long since, hath bene preparing into those parts, being readie to imbarke within these 10 days, who needeth some further supply of shipping then yet he hath, I am of opinion that you shall do well if the ship or two barkes you write of, be put in readiness to go with him, or so soone after as you may. I hope this travell will prove profitable to the adventures and generally beneficial to the whole realme: herein I pray you conferre with these bearers, M. Richard Hakluyt and M. Thomas Steventon, to whom I referre you: and so bid you heartily farewell. Richmond the 11 of March 1582.²

Your loving friend,

Francis Walsingham

SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM to RICHARD HAKLUYT.

I understand as wel by a letter I long since received from the Mayor of Bristol,³ as by conference with Sir George Peckham,⁴ that you have endeavoured and give much light for the dis-

¹ *I.e.* November 1582.

² 1583, new style.

³ The letter of November 1582 already referred to. Hakluyt went down to Bristol in the autumn of that year to secure the participation of the Bristol merchants in Gilbert's venture. He there followed his practice of interrogating sailors, and learned from the master and master's mate of the *Toby* how the Spanish fleet was constrained by the currents to follow a course which brought the ships within easy reach of the coast of Virginia.

⁴ Peckham had taken the lead in the committee of enquiry held in 1582 to gather information about eastern America and had petitioned Walsingham to allow Catholic recusants to settle there. He read the *Divers Voyages*, and refers to it in his own *Report* of 1583.

covery of the Westernne partes yet unknown: as your studie in these things is very commendable, so I thanke you much for the same, wishing you to continue your trouble in these and like matters which are like to turne not only to your owne good in private, but to the publike benefite of this Realme. And so I bid you farewell. From the Court the 11 of March 1582.¹

Your loving friend

Francis Walsingham

Document 39

LETTER FROM JOHN NEWBERY TO RICHARD HAKLUYT, 1583

A letter of M. JOHN NEWBERIE, written from Aleppo, to M. RICHARD HAKLUYT of Oxford, the 28. of May, An. 1583.

Right welbeloved, and my assured good friend, I heartily commend me unto you, hoping of your good health, &c. After we set saile from Gravesend, which was the 13. day of February last, we remained upon our coast untill the 11. day of March, and that day we set saile from Falmouth, and never ankered till we arrived in the road of Tripolis in Syria,² which was the last

¹ *I.e.* 1583. Hakluyt's ride to Bristol, and subsequent conferences with the merchants, occupied about a fortnight, for Thomas Aldworth's reply to Walsingham is dated March 27th. His return to London could hardly have been accomplished before the end of the month, and hence his introduction of his friend Steven Parmenius to Gilbert must have been made before he went to Bristol. This follows from the date, March 31st, of the dedication of the long *Ode* which Parmenius composed in Gilbert's honour. The part played by Hakluyt is mentioned in this Dedication as follows: "...Quas ab caussas cum saepenumero animus fuisset significationem aliquam nostrae hujus voluntatis et existimationis edendi: accidit utique secundum sententiam, ut dum salutandis et cognoscendis excellentibus viris Londini operam do, ornatissimus ac doctissimus amicus meus Richardus Hakluytus ad te me deduxerit, explicato mihi praeclarissimo tuo de ducenda propediem colonia in novum orbem instituto... Pridie kalen. Aprilis 1583."

² The port for Aleppo, the chief Syrian factory.

day of Aprill last past, where wee stayed 14. dayes: and the 20. of this present we came hither to Aleppo, and with Gods helpe, within five or sixe dayes goe from hence towards the Indies. Since my comming to Tripolis I have made very earnest inquirie both there and here, for the booke of Cosmographie of Abilfada Ismael, but by no meanes can heare of it.¹ Some say that possibly it may be had in Persia, but notwithstanding I will not faile to make inquirie for it, both in Babylon, and in Balsara, and if I can finde it in any of these places, I wil send it you from thence. The letter which you delivered me for to copy out, that came from master Thomas Stevens in Goa,² as also the note you gave mee of Francis Fernandes the Portingal, I brought thence with me among other writings unawares, the which I have sent you here inclosed. Here is great preparation for the warres in Persia, and from hence is gone the Bassha of a towne called Rahemet, and shortly after goeth the Bassha of Tripolis, and the Bassha of Damasco, but they have not all with them above 6000. men from hence, and they goe to a towne called Asmerome, which is three dayes journey from Trapezunde, where they shall meete with divers Capitaines and souldiers that come from Constantinople and other places thereabout, which goe altogether into Persia. This yeere many men goe into the warres, and so hath there every yeere since the beginning thereof, which is eight yeeres or thereabouts, but very few of them returne againe. Notwithstanding, they get of the Persians, and make castles and holds in their countrey. I pray you make my hearty commendations to M. Peter Guillame, and M. Philip Jones, and to M. Walter Warner, and to all the rest of our friends.³ Master Fitch hath him heartily commended unto you: and so I commit you to the tuition of the almightie, who blesse and keepe you, and send us a joyfull meeting. From Aleppo, the 28. of May 1583.

Your loving friend to command in all that I may.

John Newberie

¹ See *supra*, p. 19.

² Subsequently printed by Hakluyt.

³ See *supra*, p. 25.

Document 40

LETTER FROM STEPHEN PARMENIUS TO RICHARD HAKLUYT, 1583¹

To the worshipfull Master RICHARD HAKLUYT at Oxford in Christchurch Master of Arts and Philosophie his friend and brother.

I had not purposed to write unto you when the promise of your letters came to my mind: You thought in June last to have followed us your selfe,² and therefore I had left order that you should be advertised of my state by Master Doctor Humfrye: but so you would not be satisfied: I will write therefore to you almost in the same words, because I have no leasure at this time to meditate new matters and to vary or multiply words.

The 11 of June we set sayle at length from England in good earnest, and departed, leaving the haven and land behind us at Plimmouth: our fleete consisted of five shippes: the greatest, which the Admirals brother had lent us,³ withdrew herself from us the third day, we know not upon what occasion: with the rest we sailed still together till the 23 of July: at which time our view of one another being intercepted by the great mists, some of us sailed one way and some another: to us alone the first land appeared, the first of August about the latitude of 50 degrees, when as before we had descended beyond 41 degrees in hope of some southerly winds, which notwithstanding never blew to us at any fit time.

It is an Island which your men call Penguin, because of the multitude of birds of the same name. Yet we neither sawe any birds, nor drew nere to the land, the winds serving for our course directed to another place, but we mette together at that place a little before the Haven, whereunto by common counsell we had determined to come, and that within the space of two

¹ The original was in Latin. The translation is Hakluyt's.

² Possibly with Carlisle, see *supra*, p. 26.

³ Raleigh's vessel. It was said that sickness had broken out on board.

hours, by the goodness of God, and to our great joy. The place is situate in Newfound land, between 47 and 48 degrees, called by the name of Saint Johns: the Admiralle himselfe by reason of the multitude of the men and the smalnesse of his ship, had his company somewhat sickly and had already lost two of the same company which died of the Flix: of the rest we conceive good hope. Of our company (for I joined myself with Maurice Browne¹ a very proper Gentleman) two persons by a mischance were drowned, the rest are in safetie and strong, and for mine own part I was never more healthy. We arrived at this place the third of August, and the fift the Admirall tooke possession of the country for himselfe and the kingdowme of England: having made & published certain lawes, concerning religion and obedience to the Queene of England: At this time our fare is somewhat better and daintier then it was before; for in good sooth the experience of so long time hath taught us what contrary winds we have found and what great travell we may endure hereafter: and therefore we will take such order that we will want nothing: for we found in this place about twenty Portugall & Spanish shippes besides the shippes of the English: which being not able to match us suffer us not to be hunger starved: the English although they were of themselves strong ynough, and safe from our force, yet seeing our authoritie by the Queens letters patents, they shewed us all maner of duety and humanitie.

The maner of this Country and people remaine now to bee spoken of. But what shall I say, my good Hakluyt, when I see nothing but a very wilderness? Of fish here is incredible abundance, whereby great gaine grows to them that travel to those parts: the hooke is no sooner throwne out but it is eft-soones drawn up with some goodly fish, the whole land is full of hilles and woodes. The trees for the most part are vynes and some of them very olde and some yong: a great part of them being fallen by reason of their age, doth so hinder the sight of the land, and stoppe the way of those that seeke to travell, that they can goe no whither: all the grasse here is long & tall &

¹ Captain Maurice Brown, who commanded the *Delight* and went down with her.

differeth little from ours. It seemeth also that the nature of this soyle is fit for corn, for I found certaine blades & ears in a manner bearded, so that it appeareth by manuring and sowing they may easily be framed for the use of man: here are in the woodes bush berries, or other strawberries growing up like trees of great sweetnesse. Beares also appear about the fishers stages of the Country and are sometimes killed, but they seem to bee white as I conjectured by their skinnnes, & somewhat lesse than ours. Whether there bee any people in the Country I know not neither have I seene any to witness it. And to say truth who can, when it is not possible to passe any whither? In like sort it is unknowne whether any mettals lye under the hilles: the cause is all one, although the very colour & hue of the hilles seeme to have some Mynes of them: we moved the Admiral to set the woods on fire, that so we might have space and entrance to take view of the Country, which motion did nothing displease him, were it not for feare of great inconvenience that might thereof insue: for it was reported & confirmed by very credible persons that when the like happened by chance in another Port, the fish never came to the place about it for the space of 7 whole yeeres after, by reason of the waters made bitter by the Turpentine and Rosen of the trees, which ranne into the rivers upon the firing of them. The weather is so hote this time of the yeere, that except the very fish, which is layd out to be dried by the sunne, be every day turned, it cannot possibly bee preserved from burning:¹ but how cold it is in the winter, the great heapes and mountaines of yce in the middest of the Sea have taught us: some of our company report that in May² they were sometimes kept in with such huge yce for 16 whole dayes together, as that the Islands thereof were threescore fathoms thicke, the sides whereof which were turned toward the Sunne, when they were melted, the whole masse or heape was so inverted and turned in maner of balancing, that that part which was before downwards rose upward, to the great perill of those that are neere them, as by reason wee may gather.

The ayre upon land is indifferent cleare, but at sea towards the

¹ The mean July temperature at St John's is 60° F.

² Men with American experience travelled with Gilbert.

East there is nothing els but perpetuall mists, and in the sea it selfe, about the Banke (for so they call the place where they find ground fourty leagues distant from the shore, and where they beginne to fish) there is no day without raine. When we have served and supplied our necessitie in this place, we purpose by the helpe of God to passe towards the South,¹ with so much the more hope every day by how much the greater the things are that are reported of those Countreys which we go to discover. Thus much touching our estate.

Now I desire to know somewhat concerning you, but I feare in vaine, but specially I desire out of measure to know how my Patrone master Henry Umpton [Untonus] doth take my absence: my obedience and dutie shall alwayes bee ready toward him as long as I live: but in deede I hope that this journey of ours shalbe profitable to his intentions. It remaineth that you thinke me to be still yours, and so yours as no mans more. The sonne of God blesse all our labors, so farre, as that you yourself may be partaker of our blessing. Adieu, my most friendly, most sweet, most vertuous Hakluyt [*et nos ama*].² In Newfound land, at Saint Johns Port, the 6 of August 1583.

Steven Parmenius of Buda, yours.

Gilbert had assigned to John Dee his patent rights north of 50° while Peckham had a large concession in Norumbega.

² Omitted in the translation.

Document 41

DEDICATION OF AN ANALYSIS OF ARISTOTLE'S *POLITICS* BY RICHARD HAKLUYT, 1583

Serenissimae et potentissimae Principi Divae Elizabethae Angliae Franciae et Hiberniae Reginae, fidei orthodoxae propugnatrici etc.

Annus jam agitur tertius (Serenissima Regina) ex quo in Collegio vestro aedis Christi Oxoniae unanimi multorum consensu electus Censorio muneri (quod vocant) praefuerim: id est, ut Politicorum Aristotelis libros praelectionibus meis illustrarem et disputationes politicas censura et iudicio meo dirimerem. Consultissimum mihi tum videbatur Interpretes graecos, Latinos, veteres, Neotericos, politos, barbaros, omnes pervolvere, et ANALYSIN in octo Politicorum Aristotelis libros contexere. Tandem aspirante coeptis meis divina gratia, opus istud varium, multiplex involutum ad exitus diu optatos perduximus. Quod ipsum quoniam a vestra Majestate quadammodo profectum esse videtur, (cum et olim in Collegio Westmonasteriensi et postea in florentissima aede Christi Oxoniae per multos jam annos alumnus vester fuerim, et nunc a Domine Edwardo Staffordio viro ornatissimo et fidelissimo, vestroque ad Regem Gallorum Legato in locum Ministri sim accersitus) Serenissimae Majestati vestrae optimo jure deberi agnosco, vestroque fausto nomini consecratum esse cupio....Tantum scripto hoc meo, saltem benevolo, si minus integro suisque omnibus numeris absoluto, obsequium et observantium meam testatam et consignatam esse volui. Deus optimus maximus Majestatem vestram, praesidium et decus orbis immortale, Ecclesiae, Reipublicae, literis et literatis diutissime incolumem ac sospitem conservet. Ex aede Christi Oxoniae, Calendis Septembris. A^o Domini, 1583.

Majestati vestrae devotissimus subditus

Richardus Hackluyt

verbi Dei Minister¹

¹ The first indication of Hakluyt's Orders.

Document 42

EXTRACT FROM CAMDEN'S *ANNALS*, 1583

Almost at the same time was swallowed by the Ocean Sir Humfrey Gilbert, knight, a sharpe and lively spirited man, famous for his knowledge in warre and peace, in his returne from the North part of America, which we call New-found-land, whither he had sailed a little before with five ships, having sold his patrimony, in hope to plant a Colony there. But . . . he was distressed by shipwrecks and want of provisions, and constrained to give over his enterprise, leaving too late, and teaching others, that it is a matter of greater difficulty to transport Colonies into farre countries upon private mens wealth, than he and others in credulous error persuaded themselves to their owne cost.¹

Document 43

VERSES IN PRAISE OF CARLISLE'S PROPOSED VOYAGE²

November 1583

BY CAPTAIN RICHARD BINGHAM

The journie is but easie to bee gonne
The frozen Pole disjoyned farre doth lye:
We shape our course farre from the burning Zoune
The soile is subject to a milder skye.
And by prooffe of many recordes tride,
The Paradise of all the world beside.

¹ See *supra*, p. 38 and *infra*, pp. 237 n. and 313.

² Printed in Sir George Peckham's *True Report*.

Then launch, ye noble youths, into the maine,
 No lurking perils lye amidde the way,
 Your travell shall returne you treble gaine,
 And make your names renowned another day.
 For valiant mindes through twentie Seas will roome,
 And fish for lucke, while sluggards lye at home.

BY ANTHONY PARKHURST

Howe happy were our England then
 (Sith neither men nor shipping want)
 Some good and well disposed men
 An other England there would plant:
 And so employ a number there
 Whose persons may be spared heere.

Document 44

LETTER FROM RICHARD HAKLUYT TO SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM, 1584¹

Right Honorable

I understand from your servant Curtis your good reception of my hastie letter, your special favour and good will towards me, as also your expectation of my diligent inquirie of such things as may yeld any light into our western discoveries. For the two former I yeld most humble thanks, and for the later I nether have nor wil omitte any possible diligence, expecting intelligenses thereof from Roan, Diepe and St. Malo very shortly.

In Paris I have seen in one mans house called Perosse the value of five thousand crowns worth of furies, as sables, bevers, otters and other sortes which he bought in August laste of the men of St. Malo, and the yeare before, he tolde me, he bestowed

¹ The second letter written by Hakluyt from Paris. The first has not been preserved.

four thousand crownes with them in the like commodities.¹ He gave me further to understand that he sawe great quantities of buff hides which they brought home and sent into the Lowe Countreys to sell. Al which commodities with diverse other of noe lesse value are brought out of the most northerly partes of those countreys whereunto our voyage of inhabiting is intended.²

And nowe because I knowe that this present enterprise is like soone to waxe colde and fall to the ground unlesse in this second voyage³ al diligence in serching out everie hope of gayne be used, And calling to mynd that your honor made a motion heretofore unto me, whether I could be contented to goe myselfe in the action, these are to put your honor out of doubte that for myne parte I am most willinge to goe now in the same this present setting forth and in the service of God and my country to employ al my simple observations readings and conference whatsoever. For obtaining leave of my L. Ambassador heere to departe I doubte not but to find meanes of myselfe, seeing he may have enough to supply my roome.

For leave of my colledg and entertaynment in this voyage I wil wholly referre yt unto your honor, who wish mee so well as you wil not see my poore estate impaired. Because the tyme is exceeding shorte⁴ I wold desire your honors present answeare, uppon sight whereof with wings of Pegasus I wold soone fly into England.

I have talked twise with Don Antonio of Portugal⁵ and with five or sixe of his best captaynes and pilotes, one of whom was borne in Easte India. They al wish al prosperitie to Her Majestie and yourselfe, and say that if the Queene of England will joyne with their Master, whose strength by sea they comende unto the skyes, that they know how the King of Spayne, our mortal enemy, might easily be met withal, and she much enriched. The number of Portingalls which hange uppon the

¹ The years referred to are 1582, 1583, but the Basques and Breton men had probably established a fur trade with the Indians of the St Lawrence at a much earlier date, as a natural corollary to the fisheries.

² Norumbega, the modern New England.

³ Under Gilbert's original patent.

⁴ It would be necessary for the expedition to get away in April, in order to 'take possession' before the patent expired in June.

⁵ The Pretender.

poore King are about an hundred or sixe score. Divers of them are lately come unto him, among whom are one or two are come out of the East India overlande by Tripoly in Siria. They have a voyage in hand with five or sixe sayle of ships, which are in preparing at Newe Haven¹ for the coste of Guinea and the castle of Mina, wherein most of the Portingals aforesayd are to be employed, being joyned in company with the french. They set forward as I heare within this monthe.

One Sinior Andreas borne in Savoy is nowe heare in Paris, which hath bin lately in the island of Japan, with whom by meanes of Mr. Doctor Pena,² I shal have conference within a day or twoe. Diverse other intelligences tending toward the furtherance of our western planting and discoverie I looke for from sundrie places very shortly. In the meane season with my humble dutie to your honor and to your worthie and honorable sonne in lawe,³ I cease for the present and beseech the Almightye to hold you bothe in safe garde.

It was told me by Perosse of whom I spoke before, and by Andrewe Thevet the Kinges cosmographer, that Duke Joyeuse, Admiral of France, and the Cardinal of Burbon and their frendes, have had a meaning to send out certayne ships to inhabite some place for the north part of America,⁴ and to carry thither many friers and other religiouse persons, but I thinke they be not in haste to do yt.

Paris, from my Lord Ambassadors house, the vij of Januarie 1584.

Your honors most humble to command

Richard Hakluyt

Preacher

¹ Havre.

² With Lobel, the author of *Stirpium Adversaria Nova*, published in England in 1571. See *supra*, p. 45.

³ Christopher Carlisle.

⁴ For the French projects and voyages of this period, see *infra*, pp. 227, 278.

Document 45

LETTER FROM RICHARD HAKLUYT TO SIR F. WALSINGHAM, 1584

Right Honorable,

The famousse disputations in al partes of the mathematikes which at this present are held in Paris, for the gayning of the lecture which was erected by the worthy scholer Petrus Ramus, to the great increase of those excellent sciences, put me in mynd to sollicite your honour agayne and agayne for the erection of that lecture of the arte of navigation whereof I have had some speech with your honor, Sir Francis Drake and Alderman Barnes and other.¹ And that you might meet with al inconveniences which might frustrate the expected profit which is hoped for by the erection of the same, I send your honour here the testament of Petrus Ramus, newly put out agayne in printe, and sent unto me by Monseer Bergeron, Ramus his executor; whereby you may see first the exceeding sheale² the man had to benefit his country in bestowing 500 livers, which (as your honour knoweth) is fiftie pounds sterling, uppon establishing of that lecture, bequething not halfe as much to al the kindred and frendes he had in the world. Secondly you may note that he being one of the most famousse clerkes of Europe, thought those sciences next after divinitie to be most necessarie for the commonwelth, in that he erected a new lecture of the same, whereas there was one before erected and endowed with fiftie pounds stipend by the kings of France. Thirdly that most provident order which the good man by his will hath taken is most requisite to be put in execution in England: which is that everie three yeeres, there shalbe publicke disputations signified to al men by publicke writing, wherein yt shalbe free for any man for three monethes space to dispute agaynst the reader for the tyme being, who yf he be found negligent, or yf any one of the competitors be found

¹ Cf. *supra*, p. 180.

² Zeal. Nicholas Bergeron edited *Commendatio Professionis Mathematicae a P. Ramo institutae*, 1580.

more worthy by the opinion of certayne indifferent men of lerninge chosen out of the purpose to be judges, that then the unworthie shall give place to the more sufficient; who soe being placed is bound in three yeeres space to read through the course of the mathematices.

Yf by your honours instigation her Majestie might be enduced to erecte such a lecture in Oxford, and the like for the arte of navigation might by some other meanes be established at London, allowing to ech of them fiftie poundes yearly with the same conditions, in my simple judgement yt wold be the best hundred pounds that was bestowed this five hundred yeares in England. For yt is not unknowne unto your wisdom, how necessarie for the service of warres arithmeticke and geometrie are, and for our new discoveries and longer voyages by sea the arte of navigation is, which is compounded of many partes of the aforesayd sciences.

Understandinge hearetofore of your honours greate abundance of business, and your dangerouse sicknes, I thought it not meet to trouble your honour with such thinges as I had carefully sought out here in France concerning the furtherance of the western discoveries but chose rather to imparte the same with Mr. Carlile, which thing I also did. But being lately advertised of your recovery (for which I humblie thank almightie God) I was bold to signifie unto your honour my dealing with Horatio Palvasini¹ to become an adventurer in those western voyages, and among other talke, alleaged your good disposition to the same, which he hearing of replied very chearfully that yf he were moved thereunto by the least word from your honour, he would put in his hundred pound adventure or more. If Mr. Carlile be gone, yet yt might come in good time to serve Mr. Frobishers turne,² yf your wisdom shold like wel of yt, seeing he setteth not forth as I understand, until the beginning of May.

I understand that the papistes give out secretly in the towne that there shall shortly come forth a confutation of the defence of the execution of justice in England, which was set forth in

¹ The Genoese banker. The French colonial plans also commanded Italian financial support.

² Hakluyt still believed that Carlisle would take up Gilbert's mission. No voyage by Frobisher is recorded for this year.

English and French in London. When yt cometh forth I trust to have it with the first.

There is good hope that the minister and those that were taken lately with him in Paris by the abbot of St. Geneveva shal verie shortly be set at libertie: for the King secretly seemeth to favour them, and they have very discreetly answered for themselves that they were not at any communion or sermon, but that they mett together to consult whether to go out of Paris to some place lawful by edicte. A frend of mine told mee he herd a frier inveigh very exceeding bitterly agaynst them in a sermon before a great congregation of people.

Wee have heard by diverse letters from Geneva that besides the earthquake which was there about the end of Februarie,¹ which untyled many houses and overthrewe many chymnies in the towne, there is besides a whole village in the contreye of Valleie² swallowed up, being foure dayes journey of Geneva. Those that favour the Spanish here in the towne have spred al abroad these two or three dayes that Monsur is dead, which is nothing soe.³

Thus leving other matters and advertisements of importance to them unto whom they appertayne, with remembrance of the continuance of my humble dutie to your honor, and your worthy and virtuouse sonne in lawe I leve you to the merciful protection of the Almightye. Paris the first of April 1584.

Don Antonio his captaynes of his fleet are not yet departed from Paris, but look every day to depart.

Your honours most humble

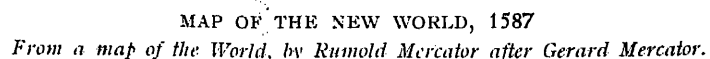
Richard Hakluyt

¹ The earthquake near Geneva occurred on March 1.

² Valais.

³ The Duc d'Anjou. His life was already despaired of, and he died of consumption early in June, leaving the French throne without a direct heir.

Quam ex Magna Vniuersali Gerardi Mercatoris Domino Richardo Gartho, Geographicæ ac ceterarum bonarum artium amato



From a map of the World, by Rumold Mercator after Gerard Mercator.

